FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-164
Thursday
23 August 1990

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-164 *23 August 1990*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Embassy Area Sealed Off To Prevent Refugee Wave *[Hamburg DPA]* 1
PRC Vice Foreign Minister Arrives 22 Aug *[ATA]* 1
Malile, Zengpei Discuss Bilateral Relations *[ATA]* 1
Carcani Receives Istanbul City Official *[ATA]* 1

BULGARIA

Evacuation From Iraq Delayed Until 27 Aug *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Army Daily Condemns Saddam Husayn's Tactics *[NARODNA ARMIYA 22 Aug]* 2
Foreign Trade Minister on Trade With USSR *[DEMOKRATSIYA 15 Aug]* 2
Soviet Specialist Denies Blame for Energy Crisis *[TRUD 21 Aug]* 3
Lukanov on New Government, Economic Situation 3
Addresses Transition, Economics *[BTA]* 3
Lukanov Government Resignation Accepted *[BTA]* 4
Zhelev Interviewed on Future Government *[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME 17 Aug]* 4
Sofia Law Enforcement Officers Leave BSP *[BTA]* 6
Lawyers Union Against Zhivkov Parliament Hearing *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Lilov on Party Restructuring, Other Issues *[DUMA 18 Aug]* 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Chancellor Receives Kuwaiti Official *[Prague Radio]* 7
'Legitimate' Kuwaiti Government Recognized *[CTK]* 7
Official Notes Links With Western Intelligence *[CTK]* 7
United States of Europe Association Established *[LIDOVE NOVINY 20 Aug]* 7
Foreign Trade Minister Stracar Dies in Brazil *[CTK]* 7
Meciar on Czech-Slovak Ties, 'Common State' *[RUDE PRAVO 16 Aug]* 8
Pithart on Tripartite Government Meeting *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 18 Aug]* 10
Czech Press Reacts to Slovak Call for Independence *[PRACE 16 Aug, etc.]* 12
Czech Cabinet Endorses Trilateral Talks *[CTK]* 13
Civic Forum, VPN Declaration on 'Joint State' *[VEREJNOST 15 Aug]* 13
Statistical Report on Status of Czech Economy *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 15 Aug]* 13
Liberal Democrats Want Parliament Convened *[CTK]* 15
Italian Weekly Cited on Orfei Affair *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 16 Aug]* 15

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

600 Soviet Jews Resettled to GDR; More Apply *[DER MORGEN 17 Aug]* 17
52 Hong Kong Chinese Receive Citizenship *[ADN]* 17
Honecker Reportedly Preparing Memoirs *[ADN]* 17
Former Stasi Members Said Returned to Police *[DER MORGEN 16 Aug]* 17

HUNGARY

Social Democratic Party Leaders Dismissed *[Budapest Radio]* 18
Antall Briefs U.S. Politicians on Economy *[MTI]* 18
Antall: German Unification 'Advantageous' *[MTI]* 18
National Foreign Policy Objectives Outlined *[MTI]* 18

POLAND

150 Poles Return From Kuwait 23 Aug *[Warsaw Radio]* 19
Daily Publishes Molotov-Ribbentrop Protocols *[Warsaw Radio]* 19
Solidarity, Sajudis Stage Border Rally *[PAP]* 19
Foreign Ministry Director on Pact Membership *[PAP]* 19
KGB's Galkin Discusses Cooperation With SB *[PAP]* 20
Walesa Views Solidarity Splits, Presidency *[TYGODNIK GDANSKI 19 Aug]* 21
Walesa on Indicting Government Figures *[Rome ANSA]* 25
Citizens Committee Urges Party Law Amendment *[PAP]* 25
Industry Minister Discusses Political Aims *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 16 Aug]* 25

ROMANIA

Demonstraters Occupy University Square *[Bucharest Radio]* 28
Party Leaders Disavow March *[Bucharest Radio]* 28
'Provocateurs' Blamed for Protest *[Bucharest Radio]* 28
'Sensational Disclosures' About Revolution *[ROMPRES]* 29
Jun Unrest Inquiry Results To Be Released *[ROMPRES]* 29
Roman Discusses Economic Reforms, Implementation *[ROMPRES]* 29
TU Desires Direct Discussion With Roman *[ROMPRES]* 30
Idea of National Bilingualism Rejected *[DIMINEATA 14 Aug]* 30
Reassessment of Former National Day Noted *[ROMPRES]* 31
NPCDP Structure, Composition Reorganized *[ROMPRES]* 32
* Brucan on Differences With Front Leaders *[ROMANIA LIBERA 18 Jul]* 32
* Government Criticized for Treatment of Gypsies *[ROMANIA LIBERA 10 Aug]* 34
Communique on Evacuation Plans From Iraq, Jordan *[Bucharest Radio]* 35
Foreign Ministry Deplores Bulgarian Interdictions *[ROMPRES]* 35
Roman Meets With Foreign Businessmen *[ROMPRES]* 35
Roman Discusses Cooperation With FRG Official *[ROMPRES]* 36
Roman Receives British MP Lucia Amery *[ROMPRES]* 36

YUGOSLAVIA

Deputy Secretary Discusses Iraqi Evacuation *[TANJUG]* 37
Iraq Expected To Request Debt Rescheduling *[TANJUG]* 37
Aftermath of Referendum-Related Unrest in Croatia 37
Knin Roadblocks Removed *[Belgrade Radio]* 37
Presidency: Threat From 'Outside Croatia' *[TANJUG]* 37
Raskovic Threatens 'Great March' *[Belgrade Radio]* 38
Communists Call for Peaceful Solution *[TANJUG]* 39
DELO: Events 'Cooked Up by Serbia' *[Lorenci, 20 Aug]* 39
Kosovars Sign Up To Go To Croatia *[VJESNIK 19 Aug]* 39
Arms 'Inventory' Announced *[POLITIKA 16 Aug]* 40
Croat, Slovene Party Leaders Meet *[TANJUG]* 40
Slovenians Discuss 'Grave Employment Problems' *[DELO 13 Aug]* 40
Albanians in Kosovo To Begin General Strike 3 Sep *[TANJUG]* 41
Kreka Coal Miners Strike Over; Raises Promised *[TANJUG]* 41
United Serbian Opposition Urges Electoral Changes *[TANJUG]* 41
Opposition Parties Legally Registered in Serbia *[TANJUG]* 41
* Albanian Catholic Bishop on Ethnic Problems 42
* Albanian Catholics' Actions *[RILINJA 5 Aug]* 42
* Letter to Jovic *[RILINDJA 5 Aug]* 44

Embassy Area Sealed Off To Prevent Refugee Wave

LD2308110790 Hamburg DPA in German 1033 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Bonn (DPA)—Albanian authorities have effectively sealed off the embassy quarter in Tirana, apparently to prevent a repeat of the wave of refugees experienced in June. It has been learned in Bonn today that the quarter on Skanderbeg Street has been sealed off at both access points, with high screens and automatic barriers. Diplomats' cars can continue to pass. Albanians in possession of passports and wanting to obtain visas are reportedly also being given access. The Albanians have installed these permanent and manned barriers to replace the provisional controls involving closely parked army trucks.

PRC Vice Foreign Minister Arrives 22 Aug

AU2308134390 Tirana ATA in English 0819 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Tirana, August 22 (ATA)—The foreign vice minister of the PR of China, Tian Zengpei, arrived on an official and friendly visit to our country on August 22, at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania. At the airport he was received by the vice minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Sokrat Plaka, and other functionaries at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Present were also the ambassador of the PSR of Albania in Beijing, Justin Papajorgji, as well as the ambassador of the PR of China in Tirana, Gu Maoxuan.

On the same day, official talks began at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between the foreign vice minister, Sokrat Plaka, and the Chinese foreign vice minister, Tian Zengpei.

During the talks the two parties said that the relations and cooperation between Albania and China have developed nonstop based on the friendly relations existing between the Albanian people and the Chinese one. They expressed the common wish of the two governments that the cooperation between the two countries in the political, economic and trade, technical, cultural fields etc., be further developed and materialised in the future, to the common interest. It was agreed that the level of the exchange of various delegations and personalities between the two countries be enhanced, the volume of trade exchanges and the cooperation in various sectors of economy, in the field of education, mass media etc., be increased.

Malile, Zengpei Discuss Bilateral Relations

AU2308140290 Tirana ATA in English 0824 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Tirana, August 22 (ATA)—On August 22 afternoon, the minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reis Malile, received the vice minister of foreign affairs of the PR of China, Tian Zengpei and had a warm and friendly talk with him.

During the meeting Reis Malile pointed out that in the recent years the relations between Albania and China have been developed in a friendly way. He evaluated the steps made in the cooperation between the two countries in the political, economic and trade, technical, cultural fields, etc.

Reis Malile spoke on the foreign policy of the PSR of Albania and her wish to expand the relations and strengthen the friendship with the peoples of the world. He pointed to the importance Albania attaches to the positive processes in the Balkans and Europe and supports all those steps which contribute to the strengthening of cooperation, peace and security in our continent and broader.

Attending the reception were the ambassador of Albania in Beijing Justin Papajorgji as well as the ambassadoress of China in Tirana, Gu Maoxuan.

Carcani Receives Istanbul City Official

AU2308143790 Tirana ATA in English 0814 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Tirana, August 22 (ATA)—On August 22, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania Comrade Adil Carcani received at the seat of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers the vice vali of Istanbul, Erdogan Yzgi, who has come on a friendly visit to our country at the invitation of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With the Foreign Countries.

Comrade Adil Carcani spoke to the Turkish guest on the traditional friendship linking our two peoples, who have many common things with each other as well as on the possibilities existing for the constant expansion of the cooperation in various fields between Albania and Turkey. Mentioning the good remembrances he continues to keep from his recent visit to Turkey, he expressed his belief that the relations of friendship and cooperation will be further materialised in the future.

The Vice Vali of Istanbul Erdogan Yzgi thanked Comrade Adil Carcani for the warm reception and the possibility created to him to visit Albania. Speaking of the impressions of this visit he pointed to the traditional hospitality of the Albanian people and expressed the desire for the further strengthening of the relations between our two countries and peoples, who are bound by a close friendship.

Attending the reception was also the chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries Jorgo Milica. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Turkish Republic in our country, Teoman Surenkok.

Evacuation From Iraq Delayed Until 27 Aug

AU2308113590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Jordan has closed its border with Iraq. We contacted Mr. Zdravko Velev, head of the Arab Countries Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and asked him how this will affect the evacuation of Bulgarian citizens from Iraq.

[Begin Velev recording] The Jordanian decision to close the border with Iraq has resulted in the following changes: Because of the difficulty in providing buses for the group of Bulgarian citizens, they will not leave Baghdad until Monday, 27 August.

As far as the report on closing the Jordanian-Iraqi border is concerned, our embassy in Amman was already instructed to take the necessary steps at the Jordanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and obtain a transit permit for the Bulgarian citizens who are to be evacuated from Iraq. We expect an answer this afternoon or tomorrow morning. Balkan Air is ready to send an airplane to Amman as soon as the group arrives there and to fly them to Sofia. [end recording]

Army Daily Condemns Saddam Husayn's Tactics

AU2308115390 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 22 Aug 90 p 4

[Detelin Vulkov article: "Old Dirty Trick"]

[Text] Certain acts in life can be performed only by a dirty villain. To beat the weak, kill the defenseless, and rob the dead are such acts.... Even during times of war, the respect for human dignity is mandatory.

Apparently, this is not the case for everyone.

Since ancient times, there have always been people carrying weapons (it would be an insult to call them soldiers), who performed—from any point of view—unacceptable acts. Obviously, civilization could not easily change human nature. This also was proven by Saddam Husayn and the methods he and his Army used in the war, which, as it is, could not be called a regular war.

Iraq used combat poison gas during the war with Iran. It also used such gas against its own citizens of Kurdish origin. At that time, the world reacted mildly and cautiously, saying only that it does not tolerate such acts. A dictatorship, however, seldom understands hints or mild warnings. It appears that, with our silence, we somehow facilitated Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. When the world public finally, through the United Nations, unanimously expressed its firm protest and established a blockade against Iraq as a responsive measure, it was too late.

Furthermore, the lives of hundreds of thousands of foreign countries' citizens, working in Iraq and Kuwait, were jeopardized. Ignoring all international laws, Saddam Husayn turned peaceful citizens into hostages in his dangerous game. Thousands of foreign citizens were transferred to important, strategic installations—a barbarous act unseen since World War II. For the civilized countries, there is nothing more important and sacred than human life. The civil war in Lebanon, and dozens of cases of hijacking and taking hostages on the part of terrorists—acting in the Third World—showed that even a world power, such as the United States, does not dare to respond to a strike with a strike, because of fear for its citizens' lives.

Now Saddam Husayn is using these tactics. If in the past, however, the world condemned separate actions of various groups as overt terrorism, how could it describe a similar act on the part of a state today? Perhaps as an act of superterrorism? It is possible, although such a definition seems too mild. The war is a war, and it inevitably requires victims. When these victims, however, are not soldiers but civilians who are deliberately assigned the role of victims, there can be no justification. Such a dirty trick should not be allowed. We live at the end of the 20th century—2,000 years after Christ and Muhammad. What deity does Saddam Husayn worship since both the Bible and the Koran elevate human life to the rank of supreme asset?

Perhaps Saddam Husayn's deity is Saddam Husayn himself; therefore, Saddam Husayn believes that he is allowed to do anything he wants? This is a dangerous delusion.

Foreign Trade Minister on Trade With USSR

AU2208160090 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 15 Aug 90 p 4

[Lev Kokushkin report: "It Is Not Exports That Empty Our Shops"]

[Text] According to Petur Bashikarov, minister of foreign economic relations, the decrease in Bulgaria's foreign debt in recent months by $500 million is primarily a result of decreasing imports. Goods of which there is an acute shortage, such as foodstuffs, are subject to strict export quotas which limit their export. Therefore, it is not exports that empty our shops.

Our trade with the USSR and other CEMA countries now is a complex issue, because we have advanced toward new instruments of cooperation, Mr. Bashikarov, minister of foreign trade, said. Those new instruments will certainly influence trade exchange. Our trade exchange with CEMA countries undoubtedly will decrease. I would like to point out that I can by no means say that at present Bulgaria strictly implements its trade obligations toward the USSR. We have delayed the payment of several hundred rubles. However, I cannot describe the USSR's decision to decrease the export of oil to our country as a retaliatory step. I categorically reject the idea of any political factors being involved in

this Soviet decision. It is a purely economic problem. The USSR currently has precisely the same difficulties we have.

According to the minister, our future trade with developed capitalist countries will depend on whether Bulgarian producers increase the quality and technical level of the goods we offer on international markets. "Indeed, this also applies to our trade with CEMA countries," Petur Bashikarov pointed out. "Our production will be compared against the background of world competition, and we shall no longer enjoy the protection afforded by bilateral intergovernmental agreements."

Soviet Specialist Denies Blame for Energy Crisis

AU2208172090 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 21 Aug 90 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Kazanchev, scientific worker at the USSR Academy of Sciences: "Does Bulgaria Expect a New Energy Crisis?"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] At the end of June, the news agencies reported the serious energy situation in Bulgaria, connected with the underexploited capacities of the Bulgarian petroleum-refining industry, and the considerable increase in the price of gasoline. The conclusion was unequivocal: The main reason for the oil crisis in Bulgaria is connected with the USSR's failure to fulfill contracts for supplying the agreed-upon quantities of petroleum. [passage omitted]

The TRUD article entitled "Does an Oil Crisis Await Us?" justly points out that, despite the USSR's extremely difficult situation, it is doing its best to provide deliveries of raw materials to the Eastern European countries. Quoting the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the article points out that, during the first six months of 1990, Bulgaria received about 50 percent of its annual deliveries of petroleum from the Soviet Union, or, more precisely, 5.43 million tonnes of the total annual amount imported from the USSR. [passage omitted]

What are the true reasons for the tension surrounding energy sources in Bulgaria? It is true that part of the agreed-upon deliveries from the USSR have not, in fact, been fulfilled. This situation is "prompted" by our internal difficulties, but it does not present a "fatal risk" for the Bulgarian economy. Moreover, the Soviet Union intends to strictly adhere to fulfilling the plan for mutual trade exchange and has no intention of cutting back on this plan, even when the Soviet domestic market is under extreme strain.

The second reason mentioned in the Bulgarian press is the decrease in petroleum refining in Bulgaria—attributed, in particular, to the fact that, at the moment, Bulgaria is refining petroleum from the Middle East with a considerable loss (because of the complex chemical composition). The third reason given is the negative effect of the irregular petroleum deliveries caused by tanker delays.

Other reasons arising from the state of the market may also be mentioned, but I think that these are not crucial. According to many of the Bulgarian and Soviet specialists, the main reason lies in the inefficient structure of the Bulgarian economy.

Let us face the truth: Until now, Bulgaria's trade relations with developed Western countries have been based on the energy and raw material branches of industry, not on production in the engineering sector of other progressive branches. What if we calculate how much energy "leaks" from the country because of the extremely inefficient structure of the Bulgarian economy, which has engineering products with a high metal content and unsophisticated chemical products whose manufacture requires a lot of energy? According to certain calculations, it amounts to about one-half of the quantity of energy sources that Bulgaria requires. If, during the period of transition to a market economy, Bulgaria succeeds in improving the structure of its exports, closing down outdated production capacities, and achieving good results in energy saving, then it will manage to considerably reduce its export costs and to save a large amount of foreign currency.

Sad as it may be, one must admit that the very fact the USSR guaranteed energy supplies to Bulgaria halted this process for a long time. These deliveries, in fact, allowed the Bulgarian economy to live beyond its means, with such an unfavorable and inefficient economic structure.

Of course, the change cannot take place at once. I hope that the Bulgarian Government will succeed in pushing things ahead to implement its stabilization and market program.

For its part, the Soviet Union, by maintaining the volume of its energy deliveries within the near future, will help to ensure that this transition is as painless as possible for Bulgaria. This is also one of the aims of keeping the Soviet market open to Bulgarian goods. [passage omitted]

Lukanov on New Government, Economic Situation

Addresses Transition, Economics

AU2208175590 Sofia BTA in English 1707 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 22 Aug (BTA)—Mr. Andrey Lukanov said that the transition to the election of a new government should not take more than ten days. The outgoing cabinet, in his words, will not assume a responsibility to discharge its functions for a longer term than that.

An exceedingly difficult transition to a market economy lies ahead. The government did not have conditions to carry out a comprehensive economic reform and did not

set itself such a goal, the prime minister told parliament today. In this way he rejected the criticism levelled at him in the debate of the government report that time was wasted for the launching of radical measures. An economic reform is beyond the powers of a disunited nation. It requires a wide-ranging public consensus and a stable legal framework. The government believed that the reform should be implemented by the new cabinet after the parliamentary elections, Mr. Lukanov said.

The premier did not dispute the alleged half-heartedness in the government's actions, but motivated it by the objective conditions in which the cabinet worked. He agreed that the steps to economic demonopolization and decentralization, to the establishment of market structures were not sufficiently decisive. He described as "largely fair" most criticisms leveled at the budget policy. The budget adopted in February was not essentially different from the previous ones, he agreed.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov believes that the declaration of the suspension of foreign debt servicing was belated.

He acknowledged as justified many opposition criticisms but at the same time said that his cabinet could not have acted otherwise without the right conditions. Mr. Lukanov dismissed the accusations that the government launched campaign manoeuvres in favour of the socialist party.

He also disagreed with the extreme assessments of Bulgaria's trade relations with the Soviet Union. "We must hold balanced views," he said. "To us, Europe does not consist of Western Europe only."

All political forces can work together, Mr. Andrey Lukanov believes. He sees reasons for this in the lot of shared ideas which he said were expressed in the debate on the government report.

In Mr. Lukanov's view the government's assessments of the economic situation in Bulgaria have to be corrected: Relations within the CMEA [CEMA] have changed faster than expected, and a new situation has arisen in the Middle East.

"Bulgaria faces a difficult, painful transition," Mr. Andrey Lukanov emphasized. He said that the country will run into numerous difficulties arising from the revised system of settlements within CMEA. An energy crisis lies ahead, too. Finance and prices must be reformed. In the long term the Bulgarian economy needs structural and technological changes. The transition, Mr. Lukanov emphasized, cannot be carried out without a considerable reduction in domestic consumption.

Among the urgent measures Mr. Andrey Lukanov listed the adoption of a new version of the budget, the extension of the range of prices formed on the market, the introduction of wage and pension indexing, the relief of the corporate tax burden, the undertaking of measures to demonopolize and decentralize state-owned companies and measures to control monopoly, and tighter measures against corruption, black-marketeering and smuggling.

Lukanov Government Resignation Accepted

AU2208184790 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 22 Aug (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly today accepted the resignation of the government of Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov. The outgoing Council of Ministers was assigned to perform its functions until the election of new cabinet. The situation necessitates this election to be conducted within the shortest possible term, says the parliament's resolution.

Mr. Lukanov's all-Socialist cabinet was in office for six months. The previous National Assembly elected the one-party government on February 8, 1990, and on August 7 the premier submitted its resignation to the Grand National Assembly.

Zhelev Interviewed on Future Government

AU2208130490 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 17 Aug 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Mariana Pencheva, Todor Minev, and Georgi Dermendzhiev; place and date not given: "A Man Must Stay Close to the Circles From Which He Came!"]

[Text] [ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] Mr. President, what are the future government's prospects?

[Zhelev] I still believe that a coalition should not be formed, and not because of any dogmatic considerations. It is simply that with a coalition the opposition may still lose its identity, and this is dangerous. There is also the likelihood that social tension will increase. From the viewpoint of national interests and the development of democratic processes in Bulgaria, it is preferable for us not to have a true coalition government. This will give the opposition a free hand to act as a catalyst in democratization, without ceasing to be an opposition.

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] Yes, the opposition should cooperate constructively in drafting the laws and in everything else which forms part of the main tasks of the Grand National Assembly. Nevertheless, a government is necessary....

[Zhelev] Yes, and a strong government, because we are entering a period when radical reforms will be carried out in Bulgaria, both in the economy and in the political field, and these reforms can be implemented only by a strong government....

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] What do you mean by a strong government?

[Zhelev] I must have the support of parliament as a whole, or at least of the main political forces represented in parliament. Only then will it be legitimate, only then

can it commit itself to the most radical reforms, which will inevitably lead to many unpopular, even undesirable consequences....

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] Is the support of parliament alone sufficient?

[Zhelev] In my view, the point at issue is not so much the form of government, nor which political forces will commit themselves to it, and which will not, but rather what program it will carry out. It has a radical program which in essence coincides with the country's interests, it cannot fail to be supported both by the Grand National Assembly and the forces outside parliament....

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] Such a program is most likely being prepared at the moment....

[Zhelev] Quite correct. It is being prepared, and will be submitted to the deputies for examination....

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] Will the opposition take part in drafting the program?

[Zhelev] If it wants to remain a constructive force in parliament, the opposition should put forward its views on the main tasks which have to be resolved during this difficult transition period of a few months....

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] This will avoid the possibility of the government's program being torpedoed by both sides of parliament and prevent the creation of a permanent crisis in government....

[Zhelev] Yes, especially if agreement is reached in advance on this radical program, on its main points, and on the deadlines for its fulfillment, that is, if a consensus is reached in the Grand National Assembly....

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] Will the parliamentary deputies have a recess, after you have, as is likely, instructed Mr. Lukanov to form a government?

[Zhelev] A very short recess, during which consultations will continue.

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] Even now, people are saying that parliament is not working with sufficient concentration....

[Zhelev] The members of both the opposition and the ruling party may possess all kinds of shortcomings. Nonetheless, this is the first true working government in 45 years, as demonstrated by debates, the political struggles and bias, and even by its subjectivity. However, I believe that the passions will subside when efforts are centered on something more positive, such as the program of the future government....

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] It is well known that for a long time we lived lawfully without laws—which provides conditions for the overall encouragement of advantages, privileges, and undeserved benefits of the most varied forms....

[Zhelev] I believe that it is essential to eliminate all privileges gained for party services given to the previous regime. If we want to have a law-governed state governed without consideration for the interests of certain individuals, groups, parties, or state institutions, the laws must be strictly implemented, and everyone must be equal before the law. We also possessed laws previously, but they were not implemented, because the totalitarian regime adopted some laws which, formally speaking, were democratic and just, but at the same time the system of regulations which was subordinate to the laws guaranteed privileges.

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] How did you spend your time from St. Elijah's Day to Assumption Day? [2-15 August] What has changed in your way of life?

[Zhelev] I have tried as far as possible not to change my life, not to enter the machine which grinds a man down and turns him into a standard product. Some things, however, are outside my control. I cannot move around by myself any more—a bodyguard is obligatory, and this I find most difficult to accept. A man should try to stay close to the circles from which he came. This is not a formal relationship, it is a link with life, with close friends, with people, with everything, because this is a question of getting a sense of social reality.... Since my election as president, only last week did I manage to see my wife who is in the country with her ailing mother.

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] Still, is it not proper for you to live in a residence which is suitable for a head of state?

[Zhelev] I continue to live in my own apartment; the changes are the three telephones and the militia guard posted outside. Of course, I cannot receive officials in my home. The residences are the places for this, as well as places for expert groups to work, and sometimes for my own preparatory work. However, the most convenient time for me is the evening, when I can sleep in my own bed.

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] All the same, what has the president managed to accomplish in these two weeks?

[Zhelev] I have duties every day which do not attract notice, such as meetings and conversations with journalists, appointing teams of economists, lawyers, and sociologists, and an office to deal with petitions. A new style of work is being developed in this state institution. In fact, I have found myself at the head of the state at a critical time, without even a full idea of what awaits me....

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] Perhaps even on an international scale, such as the response to the fact that a representative of the opposition is occupying the presidential post.

[Zhelev] It is not very appropriate for me to answer such a question, seeing as it concerns me personally.

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] Why so? It is our impression that the attitude to Bulgaria is changing perceptibly. We

know that highly placed figures in countries, where the presidential institution has much more authority and prestige, have assessed your election as proof that the Bulgarians want democracy, and now they only have to achieve it. Could you comment?

[Zhelev] I form my judgment from the telegrams, in which flattering assessments are made of the election of the president of the Republic. Talk has already started in the European countries about accepting Bulgaria into their community. This is a step forward on the road to democracy, and a way for us to change our contacts. The prospects in this sphere are very great.

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] In fact, Mr. Zhelev, so far the Bulgarians know little about the personality of their head of state or his state activity. Do you not think that it is right to report to the people on what you have achieved during a certain period?

[Zhelev] This will certainly be done, because it is very important. Either I myself or a spokesman from the Presidency will appear on national television and inform the people of what has been done and what is being done at the moment, in order that everyone should feel involved in the fate of our country....

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME] We wish you fruitful work!

Sofia Law Enforcement Officers Leave BSP

AU2208185190 Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 22 Aug (BTA)—Law-enforcement officers serving in the Sofia Directorate of Internal Affairs have renounced their membership in the Socialist Party [BSP], it was announced today. They have supported the idea that the new Ministry of Internal Affairs should have a nonpartisan and all-national character. They believe that in the conditions of real political pluralism and parliamentary democracy, work in the Ministry of Internal Affairs is incompatible with membership in any parties and political organisations. They welcome the positive stand which the management of the Ministry of Internal Affairs takes on the matter.

Lawyers Union Against Zhivkov Parliament Hearing

AU2208200490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] The Union of Lawyers and Democrats in Bulgaria has sent a declaration to BTA which states:

The Grand National Assembly has set a precedent and put forth a challenge to the Bulgarian state: to summon Todor Zhivkov to answer questions before the Grand National Assembly.

The Union of Lawyers and Democrats in Bulgaria declares that the decision to question Todor Zhivkov in the Grand National Assembly is wrong. To question Todor Zhivkov before he is condemned by a court is incorrect and reveals an evident failure to consider legal implications, because he will be questioned on matters about which he will have to answer before a court of law.

It is categorically stated that Todor Zhivkov and his entourage should first answer questions before a court of law. The Grand National Assembly, in the view of the lawyers and democrats, should convene a state court to decide the case of Todor Zhivkov and his close associates in the Central Committee of the former Communist Party, the Politburo, and the nomenklatura. This state court might complete its work not only as a court of first appeal, but also as a supreme court. After the court has issued its verdict—which should come into force at once—the Grand National Assembly may then initiate an inquiry and question the former head of state about details of a political, state, and historical nature.

Lilov on Party Restructuring, Other Issues

AU2208141590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Aug 90 p 1

[Rumyana Kamburova report: "Talk Between Aleksandur Lilov and Shumen Socialists"]

[Text] Shumen, 17 Aug—The issues of the progress of party restructuring, the difficulties in the organizational and ideological renewal, and the basic questions with which the forthcoming 39th Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Congress will address itself, which excite the BSP members were answered by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council. He identified the basic factors in the process of renewal, both the successes and the failures. The slow progress of overcoming the internal party crisis and the insufficient scope of the changes were critically analyzed.

In response to dozens of questions, Aleksandur Lilov analyzed the necessity of moving up the party congress and related this to the acute political crisis in the society and the need to achieve total ideological clarity which will allow the party to reorganize its true cadre potential, and consolidate the ideological streams in the party. The BSP will become a modern socialist party of a new type only if it eliminates dogmatism and sectarian restrictions, and dissociates itself from cadres who have compromised themselves.

Chancellor Receives Kuwaiti Official

LD2108173590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text]) Chancellor Karel Schwarzenberg today received Fahd 'Abdallah al-Hassawi, the Kuwaiti minister of state for municipal affairs, who handed over a message from the amir of Kuwait to President Vaclav Havel. The message praises the Czechoslovak standpoint on the occupation of Kuwait. The Czechoslovak side assured Minister Hassawi of its continuing support for the legitimate Kuwaiti Government.

'Legitimate' Kuwaiti Government Recognized

LD2208175990 Prague CTK in English 1457 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 22 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Vera Bartoskova received here today Fahd 'Abdallah Hasawi, an envoy of Amir of Kuwait Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, and conveyed to him the Czechoslovak stand condemning the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq.

She confirmed that the Czechoslovak side recognizes the legitimate Kuwaiti Government and will continue to cooperate with the Kuwaiti Embassy in Prague. If the health or lives of employees of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Kuwait are endangered or if the Iraqi side hampers the running of the office, the Czechoslovak Government will consider taking appropriate measures which will in no case, however, mean a change in diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Kuwait.

Official Notes Links With Western Intelligence

LD2308131190 Prague CTK in English 0813 GMT 23 Aug 90

[text] Prague August 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia—in educating its counter-intelligence personnel—is applying the experience of and is assisted by western secret services, says the branch's chief Jan Ruml in the "OBCANSKY DENIK" (CIVIC DAILY) newspaper today.

Jan Ruml, the Czechoslovak first deputy minister of the interior and director of the recently established Constitution and Democracy Protection Bureau, recalls in "OBCANSKY DENIK" an agreement on the arrival here of a group of anti-terrorist and drug departments' experts from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He points out, however, that this application of U.S. experiences is not to be understood as creating dependence on the united states.

Czechoslovakia, Ruml continues, is willing to cooperate with the Soviet State Security Committee (KGB) in combating terrorism, the narco-mafia and international crime, as soon as such changes take place the KGB preventing its activity directed against the democratic setup in Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak counter-intelligence service is replaced by the constitution and democracy protection bureau which should be removed from the framework of the Interior Ministry and subordinated to the parliament, says Jan Ruml in "OBCANSKY DENIK". He adds, that at the moment the activity of the Czechoslovak counter-intelligence service abroad is paralysed since its workers have been recalled here for screening, concerning their ability to work on in the service.

Ruml pays much attention to today's activity of the former members of the Czechoslovak State security Police (StB), which was disbanded earlier this year. 2,500 members of the force have been sacked while the rest are to be assigned to other departments of the Interior Ministry, following their screening. According to Ruml, some of the sacked StB members try to maintain contacts with former agents of the service, or to revive the agency of the soviet KGB secret service in Czechoslovakia, "to be used in an unspecified way".

Ruml also recalls that the Soviet side has failed to confirm or deny claims that some documents of the StB were taken to the Soviet Union after November 1989. "Since some of the former StB members have been trying to contact KGB agents, it is to be believed that these documents are in the hands of the KGB", says Ruml.

He also says that workers in Czechoslovak enterprises refuse to accept former StB members seeking other employment. Some of these, however, never seek new jobs and live on their savings, warns Ruml. "We do not know much about these people", says Ruml.

Ruml also makes it clear that there will be no bureau in Czechoslovakia in the future directed against the "international enemy".

United States of Europe Association Established

AU2208142690 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 20 Aug 90 p 8

[Unattributed report]

[Text] The constituent assembly of the Association of Radicals for a United States of Europe [Asociace radikalu za Spojene staty Evropske] was held in Prague on Saturday [18 August] evening. The elections of the association's organs were the main issue on its agenda. John Bok became its honorary chairman.

Foreign Trade Minister Stracar Dies in Brazil

LD2208104390 Prague CTK in English 0945 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Prague August 22 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Slavomir Stracar died on Tuesday

August 21 while visiting Latin America. Mr. Stracar suffered a heart attack while visiting Brazil and was hospitalized at a military hospital in Brasilia on Monday. Mr. Stracar was 55 years old. [passage omitted]

Meciar on Czech-Slovak Ties, 'Common State'

AU2208122190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Aug 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Slovak Republic Premier Vladimir Meciar by Gustav Capko; place and date not given: "We Do Not Want To Break Up the Common State"; first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] The new Slovak Government has existed for only a few weeks, but it has already discussed many important documents. Among the most important of them was its policy statement, which it successfully defended at the recent second meeting of the Slovak National Council. For the new premier, Vladimir Meciar, LLD., this was, at the same time, a decisive beginning for his two-year term of office.

[Capko] With what resolutions did you take up the post of premier?

[Meciar] We have called our government the Government of National Cooperation. This name should symbolize the endeavor to unite all political, social, and other forces in Slovakia, the endeavor to make them find a common language for the benefit of Slovakia's development and the implementation of the government's policy statement. I see the mission of the government, but also my own mission, as serving the interests of Slovakia and the citizens of this republic.

[Capko] During the election campaign, the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement [VPN], which nominated you as its candidate for the post of premier, repeatedly stressed that the new governments, at both the federal and republican levels, must be governments of experts. Within the framework of Slovakia, however, this goal has not been reached. Could you explain why?

[Meciar] The composition of the government in Slovakia was conditional on the election results. They were such that no party received the absolute majority of votes. For the government to gain the support of parliament, parties had to enter into coalition alliances. The VPN has formed a coalition alliance with the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and the Democratic Party. On this basis the coalition partners reached agreements on the filling of seats in the new cabinet, subsequently on specific departments, and finally on specific people. Where the approval of the government's program is conditional on the real balance of political forces, there has to be a certain compromise, also regarding the filling of ministerial and other seats in the government. Such is the reality of our political life, and we have to accept it. The government's instability would jeopardize the entire future of Slovak development and could affect all walks of our life. It is here that we must look for the answer to the question of what guided us in setting up the new government.

[Capko] The Slovak Government comprises only men. It is as if women were forgotten.

[Meciar] We sincerely tried to have at least one woman in the government. Unfortunately, we did not come across interest on their part. The problem is not that we lack capable women. However, taking up a government post would require any woman who opted for this path to essentially give up responsibility for her family. Because we do not have any woman represented in the government, we are trying to compensate. We are setting up a Government Committee for Women and the Family. In other words, women will be involved in all matters discussed by the government. They will be able to assess government documents, comment on them, and come up with their initiatives, proposals, and standpoints.

[Capko] Which tasks of the immediate future do you consider to be of the greatest importance?

[Meciar] Of the relations that are highly problematic today, some can be resolved within the two years [of this government's term of office], while we can only just begin to work on others. I believe, for example, that we can resolve in a fundamental way the questions concerning Czechs and Slovaks in their common federal state. This solution could culminate in a Constitution, which the present bodies could adopt before the two years are over. Likewise, we could resolve the question of building democratic structures in our Slovak political system—that is, the position of political and public organizations, questions of guaranteeing civil rights, but also the status of the mass media and some other relations which, on aggregate, provide guarantees of civil liberties and the state's democratic development. We can also resolve relations between Slovaks and Hungarians on the territory of the Slovak Republic. This could be done by adopting common legislation within the framework of the constitutional development, for example, or by adopting such a common constitution as would guarantee the rights of each citizen at least to the extent of rights and freedoms provided for by the Helsinki conference.

[Capko] The policy statements of both the federal and the republic governments stress that we want to create a modern democratic state. What place should, in your opinion, the Slovak Republic occupy in it?

[Meciar] In the policy statements of all three governments, great attention was paid to the question of common statehood. We do not want to break up common statehood. We must say unambiguously, however, that the present model of relations between Czechs and Slovaks in a common state suits neither Slovaks nor Czechs.

Therefore, the primary issue is how we will perceive the federation in the future. The basic idea by which we are guided is that only strong republics can create a strong federation. If the republics are to be strong, it is necessary to make sure that they are the original sources of state sovereignty, power, and ownership relations, and the original owners of property found on their territory. The republics, both the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, then delegate to the federation what is advantageous for them.

[Capko] Many people object that this amounts to decentralization. Some even regard this as destruction of the common state.

[Meciar] This is not the case at all and [such interpretation is] a misunderstanding. After all, complete decentralization is the germ of future economic integration. This integration will be based not on common bureaucracy, but on normal economic relations, on the normal and natural need to exchange cultural values.

[Capko] To what extent do your views on these issues tally with the views of the Czech Republic Government?

[Meciar] There are no differences between the Czech and Slovak Governments' views on the forms of the future coexistence and relations between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Our positions are literally identical. We place emphasis on respect for the present state of social development, on the building of strong independent republics that have in common all they need for their common life. In the political sphere, too, we can come to an agreement. We have, for example, an exact idea of the future structure of the supreme bodies. We understand this process of dismantling centralism as the germ of future democratism [demokratismus] and of democratically integrated Czech-Slovak relations. That is why we deny having any other intentions, should any be ascribed to this endeavor.

We know, for example, that the defense of the common border is our joint obligation, and the same goes for the defense of the state. It is obvious to us that the common state must be represented by some body in the sphere of foreign relations. However, there must occur a division of the sphere of competence between this federal body and the republics' bodies, because the republic as a national subject needs to enter into international organizations and relations, though not into interstate relations.

We have, for example, great reservations about [federal control over] foreign trade. We have them not because we would like to have foreign trade in [the jurisdiction of] the national republics, but because we would like to transfer foreign trade to [the jurisdiction of] enterprises so that they have the right to engage in entrepreneurial activity. In other words, when I say that we do not want to have federal control over foreign trade, it also means that we do not want Bratislava to have control over it, in its present form, either. Foreign trade must be within the jurisdiction of enterprises, which must engage in entrepreneurial activity. People in the federal bodies do not understand this at all, however. They believe that in Slovakia we want to gain some of their powers and destroy something in the pursuit of this goal.

Indeed, we want to break up the existing apparatus, but we do not want to replace one sort of centralism with another. We are intent on building a different system of management. The staff of some federal bodies finds this demand offensive, however, because it means a loss of social security for them. Czechoslovakists also find it offensive, assuming that this national development will lead to the destruction of the state. This will not be the case; the state will be united and firmer on the basis of natural linkages.

[Capko] Does the coalition government of the Slovak Republic also intend to involve experts from parties and movements which are not represented in the coalition in the solution of the accumulated problems?

[Meciar] I do not have to engage in any theorizing about the intentions of the Slovak Government as far as the involvement of experts is concerned. Recently we approved in the government, for example, five deputy ministers. One of them is a Social Democrat, even though this party failed in the elections and is not even represented in parliament. Another one is member of the Trend of the Third Millennium Party, even though this party, too, did not fare well in the parliamentary elections. And a third one is without any political affiliation altogether.... Of the five deputy ministers, only one was from the VPN and one from the KDH. This fact alone demonstrates that there is great interest in looking for experts without regard for their political affiliation.

[Capko] You mentioned that representatives of parties which did not do well in the elections have been appointed to deputy minister posts. I believe, however, that this time the government somehow forgot to consider representatives of the Communist Party of Slovakia, which won 13.34 percent of the vote in Slovakia during the elections to the Slovak National Council. How can you explain this?

[Meciar] We did not forget. The situation was such that the Communists demanded from the Slovak Government only the post of deputy minister of the construction and building industry. We accommodated this wish. They did not raise any further demands on the Government of the Slovak Republic in this respect.

[Capko] At many preelection, but also postelection, meetings, particularly in Bratislava, many a call was heard for Slovakia to break away from Bohemia and establish an independent state. What is your opinion on this issue?

[Meciar] It is stated in the policy statements of the federal and also republican governments, that when we join the European integration, the two republics will do so as equal subjects. Of course, the breaking up of the

common state of Czechs and Slovaks would politically suit many groups, and not just in our country, even though this runs counter to the fundamental interests of the Czechs and Slovaks.

The elections showed that riding on the nationalist wave is not only popular for some groups, but also advantageous from the viewpoint of winning votes. I belive that even here reason must prevail over emotions. Our program is a national one. We favor the construction of Slovak statehood and Slovakia, as a whole, but not at the cost of disintegration of the common state. We want to rebuild it, not dismantle it!

[Capko] In connection with the increase in the prices of food, gasoline, and diesel fuel, and in expectation of increases in the prices of other goods and fees, people are suddenly expressing fear of the future. They are somehow losing the feeling of social and economic security. What does the Slovak Republic Government intend to do lest these fears become reality?

[Meciar] Of course, no one is painting a picture of life in the days to come as free of problems, with everyone enjoying prosperity and full guarantees of development. Life will continue to be full of conflict. Yet people do have certain guarantees, after all. The government will guarantee a subsistence minimum to everyone. He who works will have the resources to make a living. We do not anticipate, for example, any mass unemployment. However, we do not want to, and cannot, understand social security as a guarantee that everything will stay the same.

In the economic sphere, for example, we must constantly develop the process whereby he who is unable to adapt his enterprise to the new economic conditions will not have his existence guaranteed, and will not be able to depend on someone else subsidizing and supporting him. Such an enterprise will simply go bankrupt.

I would be very glad if we added to the question "Government, what can you do for us?" also the question "Citizen, what can you do for the republic?" and "How will you help your government?" If we manage to create such unity, everything will be fine.

[Capko] Thank you for the interview.

Pithart on Tripartite Government Meeting

AU2208132090 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 18 Aug 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Czech Republic Premier Petr Pithart by unidentified CTK reporters; place and date not given: "On the Recent Meeting of the Three Governments"]

[Text] The joint meeting of the representatives of the federal and national governments on the constitutional arrangement of Czechoslovakia, held in Trencianske Teplice on 8 and 9 August, raised, among our citizens, a number of questions. These questions have not been satisfactorily answered by either the statement issued at the meeting or the consequent disclosures to the press by the talks' participants. CTK correspondents, among others, therefore asked Czech Republic Premier Petr Pithart for more details.

Among other things, they asked the following questions:

[Reporter] According to information available to date, the meeting of the representatives of the federal and national governments in Trencianske Teplice took place on the suggestion of the Slovak side. What concrete demands for changes in the jurisdictions of the federal and national bodies were raised by the representatives of the Slovak Government?

[Pithart] The meeting was called by Federal Deputy Premier P. Rychetsky. The original impetus actually did come from Slovakia. At a working meeting of the president with the premiers of all three governments, Slovak Republic Premier V. Meciar asked Federal Premier M. Calfa to aquaint the Federal Assembly during September with the federal government's ideas regarding the progress of the transfer of jurisdictions from the federal to the republican level. In order to obtain clear information on the views held on the topic by the republican governments, the [federal] government called the Trencianske Teplice meeting. At the meeting, Slovak Government representatives presented a relatively well thought-out concept of this transfer, and a date when—according to their opinion—it should occur (1 January 1991). Therefore, at the meeting the participants exchanged views on the jurisdiction problem and on the matter of the timetable.

Frankly, the representatives of the Federal and Czech Governments reacted to Slovak stimuli. After a discussion, the Slovak participants retracted some details of their original stand. The Czech side did not argue the Slovak's overall intentions, which can be summarized in the bon mot (it appeared in the policy statements of all three governments) that strong republics are a prerequisite for a strong federation. The Czech side did not, however, come to the meeting considering such an early date for the jurisdiction transfer, and it did not ponder the possibility that the transfer should also involve the Departments of Energy, Transport, and the communication network to such a great extent. Nor did the Czech side consider the question of the transfer of the traditional branch ministries as a pressing one, for with the advancing privatization (within approximately two years), the branch ministries will definitively lose their legitimacy. On the other hand, it was guided by the responsibility for the success of the meeting, i.e., by an effort to avoid a conflict which, in a two-member federation, could cause irreparable damage. It was not, however, an effort to avoid conflict at any cost. Coresponsibility for breaking the federation was a price which the Czech Government would refuse to pay. This was not the goal of the Slovak side either. Hence, in no way were we under pressure that could be called blackmail: We were confronted with opinions that required a substantial

rebuilding of the federation, but not its dismantling. We agreed to leave it to experts (in ten working commissions), who would specify the framework ideas in such a way as not to endanger the integral operation of the entire federation regarding the fundamental issues. That is also how we formulated (in a rough outline) the task of the expert commissions.

[Reporter] The citizens wonder whether the proposed changes are justified in the currently difficult economic situation, not to mention the fact that, for instance, the management of the railways or communications seems to be quite hazardous. After all, it is a matter of general knowledge that in federal or confederative-type states, these services are managed on the federal level.

[Pithart] That is a question for the Slovak side, so I do not have to answer. Just to put you at rest, I would like to say that in communications, for instance, the legislation, the expert supervision and corresponding operation of the state administration, is one thing, and, for example, the development of the communication management in the individual regions of the state or, as the case may be, republics, is another. The republics can have an opinion different from that of the federation on the latter issue without threatening the integral functioning of our state. Besides, let us not dramatize the situation. After all, we are endeavoring that in the shortest possible time, the Czech Republic will not buy anything from the Slovak Republic (or vice versa), but that the independent enterprises in Bohemia will buy from Slovak enterprises (and vice versa).

[Reporter] If the Slovak ideas are accepted and realized, wouldn't the danger of the formation of two diverse economies and a worsening of current economic problems arise, particularly with regard to a possible failure to honor the concluded agreements with the USSR and the GDR?

[Pithart] The "worsening of the problems," as you literally put it, is not unavoidable. There will simply be two independent households in a common federal home. We have agreed on a common basic strategy for economic reform. A common, everyday household management of two adult siblings—to use the widespread family metaphor—never ends well. As far as relations "outside the house" are concerned, for instance those with the USSR and the GDR, it seems that today it would be more productive if the Czech Republic entered into direct contact with the Russian Soviet Federative Republic, and the Slovak Republic with the Ukrainian Republic, than if we were to try to deal with the USSR on the federal level. The best situation would be if the independent enterprises—Czech and Slovak, Slovak or Czech—make direct contact with the enterprises in Russia or in the Ukraine.

[Reporter] What will happen if you not reach a consensus in the working commissions?

[Pithart] In Trencianske Teplice, the representatives of the federal government acknowledged the Slovak initiative and tried to tackle the issue to the best advantage. In no way did I get the impression that they identified the federal government's fate, in its present composition, and the present jurisdictions with the fate of the federation. It was a realistic standpoint. Regarding the subsequent standpoint of the entire federal government, I am not the one to be asked about it. I was not there.

[Reporter] The Federal Assembly was elected to draft during its two-year term of office the federation's Constitution. The adoption of this Constitution, according to the legal codification in effect, requires a three-fifths majority in the both the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations, while in the latter the three- fifths majority must also be reached among the deputies elected in the Czech Republic and among the deputies elected in the Slovak Republic. Do the proceedings of the Federal, Czech, and Slovak Governments, and the in-camera discussions of the jurisdiction issues, not contradict other regulations?

[Pithart] The jurisdiction issues were dealt with in camera only until 0030 on Thursday, 9 August. From that moment, i.e., from the moment an agreement was reached, we were ready to announce what kind of proposals we were ready to submit to the coalition partners, and eventually—after their elaboration in detail in the expert groups—to the legislative assemblies. There was nobody there. Everyone, except us, went to sleep. Therefore, we did not meet the inquisitive journalists' requests until 0030. In the afternoon, they already wanted to know what decisions we reached, despite the fact that the meeting was not finished. The topic of the meeting was known. I do not quite understand the reproaches regarding the fact that it was a closed meeting. Was it that the journalists wanted to report the sensation that by 2230 we had not reached a consensus, for instance, on the defense of the state borders (federal or republican), while we had done so by 2245? Did they just want to dramatize at any cost something that eventually ended in a consensus? True, for several hours the meeting was closed, but only until the consensus on money was reached. I do not see anything wrong with that. Moreover, the topic of discussion was just proposals which, according to the Constitution, are not binding: They will be discussed publicly and the decision will be made in the Federal Assembly. After all, even the federal government acquaints the journalists with the outcome of their sessions only after they are completed. I cannot rid myself of the suspicion that some mass media representatives wanted a sensation—"they are fighting"—at any cost. It is their business what they consider to be their responsibility; the responsibility of politicians, however, is to seek and find consensus. Report this then to the public. Of course, if we could not agree, we would also have to report it immediately, and explain why and on what issues we cannot agree. But why report immediately every polemic entered into? Even when we still hope to find solutions? In brief: The proceedings have

not violated any constitutional regulations. No constitutional bodies met in Trencianske Teplice and, therefore, they could not have violated any constitutional regulations. What those present agreed to submit to the constitutional bodies, they reported the next day at 1400 in the statement and at a news conference.

[Reporter] In what way do you intend to report on the work of the ten commissions and, as the case may be, on further talks among the three governments?

[Pithart] As soon as we have something to report on the progress of the operation of the ten expert commissions, we will immediately inform the public. When you ask about the manner of informing, I answer the usual way. I ask the questioner not to dramatize that which should be very down to earth and on as positive a level as possible.

Czech Press Reacts to Slovak Call for Independence

AU2208142790

[Editorial Report] Czech newspapers of 16 and 17 August publish a number of commentaries reacting to the statement of 10 Slovak political parties and movements of 14 August, which called for the formation of an "independent and sovereign Slovak Republic."

Prague PRACE in Czech dated 16 August, page one, carries a 200-word Petr Hirsch commentary on the Slovak parties' statement, in which he says: "Patience is running out, and I am slowly dreading the worst. If a referendum on the future of this state were to be held tomorrow, the idea of unity would lose. Not because of the Slovaks' vote but because of the vote of the Czechs and Moravians. The only thing that could help in this situation are not party statements, but a true authority, a personality. But do we still have one?"

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech dated 16 August, page one, carries a 600-word Petr Novacek commentary entitled "Shall We Pick Up the Thrown Gauntlet?" Novacek protests the "intolerant and irresponsible tone of the statement, that has the character of an ultimatum" and calls the last two of its seven points "particularly indigestible." He goes on to say: "The Slovak nationalists have apparently decided to openly embrace the autonomy program of [the prewar] Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. They do not rely on a democratic dialogue on contentious issues, to which the Czech side has repeatedly demonstrated more than goodwill. It seems, rather, that they rely on the element of surprise—on simply confronting us—those having a different opinion, with a fait accompli." In conclusion, Novacek expresses the hope that the parliament and the president of the Republic will "pick up the gauntlet" thrown to them by the Slovak nationalists.

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech dated 16 August, page one, carries a 300-word Jaroslav Jiru commentary, which draws attention to the maneuvering of the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement between the Slovak coalition government, of which it is a member, and the Slovak nationalist forces. Pointing to the presence of a Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] representative at the 14 August meeting of the Slovak nationalists, Jiru asks: "Are those correct who say that the Slovak National Party says aloud what the Christian Democrats cannot profess in public for 'tactical reasons'? On which chair, in fact, does the KDH sit? In the government, which protests against 'separatist passions,' or in the opposition, which supports them?"

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech dated 17 August, page one, carries a 1,200-word Stanislav Myslil commentary entitled "On the Arrangement of the State." Myslil senses an "acute danger of the state's disintegration due to separatist efforts by a part of the Slovak representation." He believes that "the dismantling of the federation has already begun" and that, following the results of the recent talks between representatives of the Czech, Slovak, and federal governments at Trencianske Teplice, this process will even accelerate. Myslil argues that the question of the state's future shape is so serious that it should be submitted to a referendum. Because, according to Myslil, the actual extent of popular support for separatist demands is unknown, only a referendum can remove all doubts. It would also "rid us of the trauma resulting from endless discussions on the constitutions, and of the growing tension."

The call for a referendum on the future of the federation is also endorsed by Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech. On 17 August, page one, it publishes a 300-word commentary by Igor Sirota entitled "Jointly or Separately?" Sirota notes that "the coexistence of the Czechs and the Slovaks is not an historical inevitability, but an expression of the voluntary and free decision of each of the two nations." According to Sirota, the question of their future in a common state should, therefore, be put to a national vote.

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech dated 17 August, page one, carries a 600-word Ondrej Neff commentary on the future of Czech-Slovak coexistence entitled "It Is the Direction of the Offensive That Matters." Neff cautions against the calls for a referendum, saying that "radical statements on the necessity of the referendum can lead only to a growing wave of Czech chauvinism, and even separatism." At the same time, Neff fears that the planned transfer of responsibilities from the federation to the republics will not lead to decentralization but rather "to a kind of centralist dualism, with two centers of absolute bureaucratic power—one in Prague and the other, equally arrogant, in Bratislava."

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech dated 17 August, page one carries a 600-word interview with Vladimir Podplessky, central secretary of the Slovak National Party, entitled "We Want an Independent Slovakia!" The interview was conducted by telephone on 16 August. Asked how the decision on Slovakia's independence should be made, Podplessky says that his party

is not in favor of a referendum, rather, the "normal democratic parliamentary path." Podplessky also expresses the belief that the Slovak economy would be able to exist independently. He stresses that an independent Slovak Republic would continue to cooperate with the Czech Republic as an equal partner. The two republics would also be able to coordinate their policies within the framework of "integrated Europe and the European parliament."

Czech Cabinet Endorses Trilateral Talks

LD2208221490 Prague CTK in English 2055 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 22 (CTK)—The Government of the Czech Republic said today that the planned division of powers between the federal and the two national governments in Czechoslovakia is in harmony with the historic need to give a new meaning, content and sovereignty to the federative state.

It is also in harmony with the need to speed up the elimination of surviving bureaucratic and centralistic structures.

A cabinet meeting today took a stand on the talks of representatives of the federal and the two national governments in Trencianske Teplice on August 8-9. It expressed full endorsement of all steps which will lead to an optimal division of powers between the federal and the Czech and Slovak governments, in full harmony with talks held by representatives of the governments and the movements which won last June's elections—the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence—in the presence of President Vaclav Havel at Prague Castle on August 17.

The Czech Government expressed solidarity with the Slovak Government in its resistance against manifestations of separatism in Slovakia and clearly dissociated itself from all voices in the Czech lands which directly or indirectly support outdated centralistic and bureaucratic structures and which misrepresent the results of the talks.

From the will of all participants, the talks in Trencianske Teplice were aimed at strengthening the unity of the state and its economy on new foundations, the Czech Government said.

"The talks were motivated by the effort to restore the original ideas of the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation and thus put right the deformities caused by the years of normalization. The development in the last few months, weeks and days shows that this must no longer be delayed. It would be against the interests of the Czechs and Slovaks, of all citizens of Czechoslovakia", it said.

Special commissions are to be set up to propose the division of powers. The proposals will be judged by political forces and constitutional bodies and the results will be submitted to the Federal Assembly, the cabinet noted.

Civic Forum, VPN Declaration on 'Joint State'

AU2208142990 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 15 Aug 90 p 1

[Declaration issued by Public Against Violence (VPN) movement and Civic Forum representatives in Brno on 14 August: "A Public Against Violence Movement and Civic Forum Representatives' Declaration"]

[Text] At a regular meeting between Public Against Violence [VPN] movement and Civic Forum representatives held in Brno on 14 August 1990, it was confirmed that the main purpose of the joint political course of action adopted by our movements is the development of both republics in a joint state—the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. We consider the talks held among representatives of the three governments in Trencianske Teplice to be an important stimulus for further discussion about the acceleration of economic and political reforms. We consider the consensus achieved by the main political parties to be a condition for the success of this discussion. The main issue is, above all, to define the optimal functioning of the federation, the basis of which will be autonomous national republics.

The Civic Forum and VPN representatives also agreed upon the necessity of accelerating work related to the establishment of the republican and federal constitutions, as well as with the elaboration and acceptance of the Charter of the Federation proposed at the Trencianske Teplice meeting.

The Civic Forum and the VPN suggest that a meeting of all the important CSFR political parties and movements be called as soon as possible to discuss these questions.

Statistical Report on Status of Czech Economy

AU2208135790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Aug 90 pp 1, 4

[CTK report: "When Will the Economy Take New Breath"]

[Text] The social and economic development in the Czech Republic took its course in complex internal and external conditions of economic reform and was marked by long-term tendencies dragging on from the past years. The behavior of enterprises has not changed significantly, and is characterized by a wait-and-see attitude. The desirable reduction in activities with no prospects has not been compensated for by the development of a program with good prospects; the shortage of raw materials has also been felt. Neither the population's demand, nor the demand made by enterprises, has been met.

The current tendencies appearing in the national economy are contrary to the assumptions made in the

state budget, which was compiled to reflect the improvement in the efficiency of the economy. Neither monetary nor budgetary restrictions brought about expected results. Problems with marketing the products on domestic, as well as foreign markets led to the insolvency of a number of enterprises. These facts—together with structural changes and other internal, as well as external factors—influenced the creation of the gross national product; it remained roughly at the level of the first six months of 1989, and, if we include hidden inflation, it was slightly below this level.

The establishment of new state enterprises has been accelerated and has been accompanied by personal changes in their management. During the first six months, the number of enterprises in the Ministry of Industry sector increased from 126 to 225, in the Ministry of Construction and Building sector from 86 to 366, and in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food sector from 202 to 358. Also, the enterprises in the nonmanufacturing area broke up into smaller organizational units. At the same time, private enterprise did not develop at the desired pace, which was especially due to the slow creation of legislative conditions, to the surviving barriers of a practical nature, and problems with prices and wages. As of 30 June 1990, the number of private businessmen in the Czech Republic reached 163,952 individuals.

The decline in employment in the state and cooperative sectors of the national economy accelerated. In the course of the first six months, the number of workers declined by 54,500 persons. The largest number of those who left was recorded in civil engineering (17,600) and in industry (8,800). Meanwhile, employment in the sector regulated by National Committees increased somewhat (by 3,800). At the end of the first six months, there were 6,809 unemployed persons, of which 2,701 collected allowances before having been hired for employment.

Income was higher by 2.3 percent—the decisive factor was the growth of average wages. The average monthly wage of the employees in the state and cooperative sector (United Agricultural Cooperatives excluded) in the first six months was 3,255 korunas and rose, compared to the first six months of 1989, by 83 korunas (2.6 percent). With respect to the development in retail prices, real wages declined in the first six months. According to data provided by the Czechoslovak State Bank, foreign tourists were paid 1.8 billion korunas in return for their convertible currency. The loans to our citizens from the Savings Bank also rose.

The population's tendency to spend (index 106.1) continued to grow faster than incomes (index 104.7). Compared to the last year's six-month period, during which the saving rate was 4.6 percent, the savings rate declined to 3.3 percent. Savings represented 18,354 korunas per citizen, and 52,000 korunas per household. Compared to this, the savings on convertible currency accounts, the number of which almost doubled during the first six months, grew faster and the average amount was higher.

Retail sales in the first six months, as compared to the same period last year, were higher by 7.7 percent. The sales of industrial products were higher by 9.7 percent, the sales of food were higher by 5.4 percent. Food sales represented 55.2 percent of the retail sales in the first six months. The impact of foreign purchases made by foreign visitors was significant in the South Moravian, South Bohemian, and North Moravian regions. According to the Czechoslovak Statistical Office, these purchases made up about 18 percent of the total increase of the retail sales per republic.

The increase of retail prices is reflected—by about 50 percent—in the high increase of retail sale volumes during the first six months, which amounts to 8.4 billion korunas. The greatest impact has been made by prices of industrial products, representing 5.4 percent, and prices for services, which grew by 3.8 percent.

Agriculture was capable, with the exception of last days of June, of meeting the growing demand. The purchase of animal products during the first six months of 1989 increased. The purchase of milk almost remained at the last year's level. The purchase of cattle for slaughter increased by 2.3 percent (6,000 tonnes), hogs for slaughter by 1.4 percent more (4,200 tonnes), poultry for slaughter by 8.1 percent more (7,000 tonnes), and eggs by 0.4 percent more (4.3 million pieces). Since the livestock yields were lower, these results could have been achieved only at the price of drawing large amounts from the central feed-stuff resources.

In the industrial product market, a deep imbalance between supply and demand persisted. It was particularly pronounced in passenger cars where overall sales remained at the last year's level; in Mototechna [car retailer] it was even lower by 9,653. The chance to import passenger cars was taken advantage of by 8,410 people. Imports of consumer goods increased by 13.6 percent; non-edible products imports rose by 24.8 percent.

The increase in the population's spending on services was higher by 4.3 percent, as compared to last year; yet, irrespective of this, it was the slowest growing spending item.

Other spending increased by 8.6 percent; this reflects the higher expenses of our citizens for the purchase of foreign currency and loan repayments to the State Savings Bank. Banks sold foreign currencies for 3.0 billion korunas, which represents an increase of 179.3 percent, as compared to the first six months of 1989. Also, the income tax, administrative fees, and political and religious contributions were higher.

From January to June, 15,613 apartments were finished in the Czech Republic, representing less then one third of the National Committees' yearly plan. In contractors' construction, 7,804 apartments were finished, but only

67.4 percent passed building inspection. Another 8,531 apartments, finished the previous year, passed inspection and were put into use.

Despite increased attention paid by society to the environment, no improvement has been made to the unfavorable conditions of the basic components of the living environment. Investments in environmental protection reached 2.5 billion korunas—4.8 percent of total investments; the state program of ecological investments represented 1.0 billion korunas (protection of clean water represented 642 million korunas, protection of clean air 153 million korunas, and waste disposal 110 million korunas). A total of 56.8 percent of forests is damaged by harmful emissions.

The supply of drinking water for households increased by 2.0 percent. Of the total amount of 424.4 million cubic meters of waste water, 75.0 percent was purified—1.3 percent less that in the first half of 1989. Hygienic standards for drinking water quality are not met in 65 percent of the drinking water produced.

A long term tendency to gradually slow down the dynamism of industrial production and civil engineering transformed itself into the absolute decline of production in the first half of the year. Compared to the first six months of last year, industrial gross production in the Czech Republic dropped by 2.8 percent. A significant decline in exports for non-convertible currency, as compared to the first half of 1989, lowered the share of these exports in total exports to 49.9 percent, as expressed in "freight prepaid" prices. Exports for convertible currencies, expressed in "freight prepaid" prices, rose by 5.2 percent. A large portion of these exports are made up of raw materials and materials with little processing, however.

The production of centrally controlled civil engineering enterprises fell significantly. Civil engineering enterprises in the Czech Republic built 27.7 billion korunas worth of construction—5.3 percent less than last year. The number of construction projects initiated was lower by 738, as compared with last year; the number of unfinished construction projects fell by 1,687.

The structure of investments changed considerably. The total volume of construction in the Czech Republic was lower by 2.6 billion korunas, as compared to last year; enterprises used a portion of unrealized financial means—designed for construction work—for modernization of obsolete technological processes.

Transportation reflected the production cuts in the production sector. Compared to last year, the volume of railway transport of all important types of material was lower by 9.5 percent; this decline was most pronounced in solid fuels (13 percent). The volume of transportation by the Czechoslovak Automobile Transport fell even more (by 17.3 percent).

Demographic development retained its usual characteristics. At the end of June, the Czech Republic had a population of 10,364,000. There were 65,900 children born, and 65,200 persons died. The population grew by 1,700 persons during the first six months; the natural increase represents only 700 persons. The long-term tendency of reducing population growth in the Czech Republic has reached the stage when we can expect population growth to become stagnated.

Liberal Democrats Want Parliament Convened

LD2208202890 Prague CTK in English 1909 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 22 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Liberal Democratic Party today called on the Federal Assembly (parliament) to convene immediately and discuss the situation after a meeting of government representatives in Trencianske Teplice, west Slovakia, on August 8-9.

Representatives of the federal and the Czech and Slovak governments discussed the division of powers between the federation and the national republics at the meeting.

The party sent an open letter to Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel in this respect.

Party representatives stressed at a press conference here today that the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak governments should submit detailed information about the meeting to the parliament and the national councils (national parliaments) and deputies should then assume their stand and decide whether to call a national referendum on the future set-up of the state.

Liberal Democrats voiced the opinion that every nation has the right to full independence but did not call for a split of the federation. They described the meeting in Trencianske Teplice as an expression of closed-door policy, and feared that the executive bodies want to face the legislature with a fait accompli.

The Liberal Democratic Party, earlier known as the Democratic Initiative, ran on the Civic Forum list in last June parliamentary elections. It split from the Civic Forum on June 21. The party now has 5,000 members, and is represented in the Federal Assembly (parliament) by two deputies.

Two Civic Forum deputies today called for the convening of the parliament, which is on holiday, in a letter to parliament chairman Alexander Dubcek, published today by the independent daily LIDOVE NOVINY.

Italian Weekly Cited on Orfei Affair

AU2208143690 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Aug 90 p 4

[CTK report: "Once Again on the Orfei Affair"]

[Text] In its latest issue, the Italian weekly, PANORAMA, deals extensively with the so-called Orfei affair.

It writes that in mid-December last year, some State Security Corps [StB] agents established contact with [the Italian intelligence service] SISMI through the Italian Embassy in Prague, offering it material related to the activity of the Czechoslovak intelligence service in Italy. This was a unique opportunity for the Italians, and Admiral Fulvio Martini, the SISMI chief, personally dispatched several SISMI agents. One of the agents picked up the first sample of the material in a telephone booth; it concerned the activity of a Czechoslovak agent in Rome who worked with Italian citizens.

Over a period of time, the material was sent to Rome via diplomatic bag, and then to the SISMI headquarters at Forte Braschi. It comprised the Czechoslovak agent's reports for the Prague head office on his meetings with Italian citizens and on the information they gave him. The material reportedly contains some 250 Italian names.

When the Czechoslovak source announced—after four months—that he made use of no additional material, Martini decided to verify the authenticity of the documents. He turned to the British Intelligence Service, which has always focused Czechoslovakia within NATO's "division of labor," while Italy focused on Hungary and Bulgaria. London confirmed that the material was original, that nothing was missing in it, and that, apparently, nothing had been added to it. The reply from London came at the beginning of June. Another delicate question then arose—what to do with the material.

Martini informed Premier Andreotti and also sent a copy of the letter to former Defense Minister Mino Martinazolli. The premier instructed Martinazolli in writing to hand over the material to investigators. This is how Orfei, Bonvicini, and three employees of the Aeritalia company became the targets of Rome's Prosecutor General Filippo Mancuso's interest.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT. The German Unification Attachment will not be published today, 23 August, but will be published again on Friday, 24 August.*

600 Soviet Jews Resettled to GDR; More Apply

AU2208141690 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 17 Aug 90 p 1

[ADN report: "600 Jews Resettled"]

[Text] Berlin—A total of 600 Soviet Jews have resettled in the GDR to date. Several hundred more have gone to GDR consulates in the USSR to inquire about permanent residence or have even handed in applications for permanent residence. According to information provided yesterday [16 August] by Almuth Berger, the GDR Government commissioner for foreigners, a special office will now be set up in Berlin to deal with the coordination of all questions related to the immigration of Soviet Jews.

52 Hong Kong Chinese Receive Citizenship

LD2108200690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1454 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—On 15 August, the GDR Government unanimously resolved to accept 52 applications for GDR citizenship made by Hong Kong Chinese. The Interior Ministry press office confirmed this today in reply to an inquiry. The government representative for foreigners and the government representative for the bezirke spoke in favor of granting naturalization. [passage omitted]

The applications were granted for humanitarian reasons. The expected maximum investment of approximately 15 billion Deutsche marks [DM] will be of vital significance for the renovation of the GDR economy in small and medium-scale enterprises, and it will contribute to preserving thousands of jobs and creating new ones.

After citizenship has been received, a sum of DM1.5 million will be paid per citizen, and it will be immediately available. The investments are to run for 35 years, with annual interest of five percent.

Honecker Reportedly Preparing Memoirs

LD2208125690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1135 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Munich (ADN)—Erich Honecker, former GDR Council of State chairman, is working on his memoirs in the Soviet military hospital Beelitz, the new SUPER ILLU magazine reports on Wednesday in a prereleased article. The journal goes on sale for the first time in the GDR on Thursday.

Honecker is recording his memoirs on tape, looking up old files and reconstructing, together with his wife Margot, dates and political events. On the tapes, the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany chief claims that the Berlin Wall was constructed at the behest of the Soviets. The shoot-to-kill order was forced on him by the Warsaw Pact.

According to the magazine, published by Burda-Verlag, two confidants are helping Honecker with the writing. They are traveling in the FRG to find a prepublication buyer. SPIEGEL and STERN are said to have allegedly offered between 400,000 and 1 million Deutsche marks [DM]. Book publication rights are also being negotiated. If Honecker's book appears in time for the Christmas season, then he could be a millionaire several times over by the end of the year, the magazine writes.

According to the magazine, Honecker intends to take the money and move in with his daughter in Chile, where she lives in depressed financial circumstances.

Former Stasi Members Said Returned to Police

AU2208145990 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 16 Aug 90 p 1

["c.m."-signed report: "Stasi Obervers Continue to Observe"]

[Text] East Berlin—In March, April, and May the Interior Ministry transferred a few hundred former employees of the State Security Service from the observation department to the Berlin People's Police. They are now again working in their old special area.

This was announced by Peter Haupt (Social Democratic Party), East Berlin's deputy city councillor for internal affairs. In Haupt's view, the main task of the police is to protect the citizens and not to observe them. The East Berlin Internal Affairs Administration has repeatedly, and in vain, turned to Interior Minister Peter-Michael Diestel (Christian Democratic Union), asking him to involve them in personnel and organizational decisions.

Social Democratic Party Leaders Dismissed

LD2308094490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0400 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Another scandal has occurred within the Social Democratic Party [MSZDP]. The national leadership of the MSZDP has dismissed Anna Petrasovits and her colleagues, nullified the party decrees, and started disciplinary procedures. Furthermore, it has called for a national delegate meeting on 8 September. In her statement to NEPSZABADSAG, Anna Petrasovits said that this is merely a scheme, and the body that made the decision is illegitimate.

Antall Briefs U.S. Politicians on Economy

LD2208221190 Budapest MTI in English 2019 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 22 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall met a delegation of U.S. representatives, headed by David R. Obey of the Democratic Party, on Wednesday. The American politicians are members of a sub-committee delegated by the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives to manage export finances.

The deputies showed keen interest in Hungary's political situation and the trends in market relations. The Prime Minister briefed them on the external economy and foreign policy ideas of his government.

Antall: German Unification 'Advantageous'

LD2308105590 Budapest MTI in English 0929 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 23 (MTI)—In an exclusive interview carried by the August 23 issue of the daily MAGYAR HIRLAP, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall spoke of the unification of the two Germanies:

'In the long run, German unification will certainly be advantageous to Hungary, as a unified Germany will offer the opportunities of a good market and close cooperation. Even in the past, the two Germanies were at second and third places in the list of Hungary's foreign trade partners. It is almost certain that a united Germany will be Hungary's number one economic partner.'

'This relationship should be placed on broader foundations. Consequently we would also like to emphasize links with France, Britain and Italy, in the meantime, not forsaking East Europe and the Soviet Union either, although maintaining relations with the latter is not entirely up to us.'

'In the short run, however, it seems probable that the cancellation of exports to the GDR as a result of the dissolution of cooperative measures adjusted to GDR as a result of the dissolution of cooperative measures adjusted to GDR requirements will give rise to a DM500-800 million loss to the Hungarian economy. [no closing quotation mark as received]

The prime minister also suggested that a trilateral (Hungary, GDR, FRG) working committee should be set up to tackle the problems.

Then, Mr Antall proceeded to analyze the policy pursued by the government coalition. He stated:

'The policy of the government coalition and the government is unequivocally liberal-Christian democratic with a national commitment.... The most important element in our picture of Europe is that no right-wing extreme forces should appear in Hungary, and even more emphatically, if such a force did appear that it should not become an influential political factor.'

The prime minister concluded his interview with MAGYAR HIRLAP by saying that neither right-wing nor left-wing extreme forces had a place in Hungarian politics, and that they would only do damage to the country and the nation.

National Foreign Policy Objectives Outlined

LD2208174290 Budapest MTI in English 1537 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 22 (MTI)—Before leaving to take up their new posts, the newly appointed ambassadors were given a reception in parliament on Wednesday, attended by Arpad Goncz, president of the republic, Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, Jozsef Antall, prime minister, and Geza Jeszenszky, minister of foreign affairs. In the wake of the recent reshuffle, more than 20 foreign embassies are to have new heads throughout the world.

Hungary wishes to live in peace and friendship with all peace-loving nations of the world, and strives for wide-ranging and fair cooperation, to the advantage of all, Arpad Goncz said. He urged the ambassadors to impress on foreign nations the consistent and predictable nature of Hungary's foreign policy, dictated as it is by vital national interests.

Hungarian foreign policy is aimed at ensuring the country's self- determination and assisting its smooth integration into the arena of all-European cooperation. Relying on national consensus and the prevailing needs of each region, Hungary is seeking the way to fully implement individual human rights for all peoples at home and abroad. It gives particular attention to the equality of its national minorities and ethnic Hungarians across the border, guaranteed by international agreements.

Hungary's objective is to become a full member of the single Europe as soon as possible. To this end, it undertakes all international commitments entailed by this membership, Arpad Goncz said. It hopes to gain national security under the common European security system. However, it does not regard this merely as a question of military security, but seeks to place its security demands in a framework of human rights and environmental protection.

At the same time, it attaches outstanding importance to regional cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe, regarding its neighbours and other countries in the region not so much as rivals but as partners on the road leading to Europe.

150 Poles Return From Kuwait 23 Aug

LD2308132190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] One hundred and fifty Poles from Kuwait flew on a chartered plane into Warsaw's Okecie Airport before 0800 this morning. So far about 300 Poles, including those working on contracts, have expressed a desire to leave Iraq. The formal decisions regarding their departure rest with the management of the various Polish enterprises under contracts in Iraq. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation is suggesting that persons not essential for the fulfillment of contracts should be able to return to Poland. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has stressed that it will give any assistance to people deciding to return.

Daily Publishes Molotov-Ribbentrop Protocols

LD2308093290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] On 23 August 1939, a nonaggression pact was signed in Moscow between the Soviet Union and the Third Reich. It was known as the Hitler-Stalin Pact, or, more often, as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. For many years, the Soviet side denied the existence of a secret protocol to the pact, which in effect decided the partition of Poland and the loss of independence by Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. That was still the case until last year. Today, on the 51st anniversary of the signing of this document, the GAZETA WYBORCZA publishes the full text of the protocol and the dispatches sent by German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribentrop to Adolf Hitler.

Solidarity, Sajudis Stage Border Rally

LD2308132790 Warsaw PAP in English 1233 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Suwalki, Aug. 23—The Sajudis and Solidarity movements arranged a meeting mottoed "Road To Free Europe" that opened today at the Polish-Lithuanian border crossing in Ogrodniki-Lazdijai.

The participants in the rally—Poles, Lithuanians, and others—want to remind the European public opinion of the aftermath of the notorious Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact signed 51 years ago. They also intend to turn Europe's attention to the present political situation of Baltic states.

The organizers plan an open-air mass, a rally, and other events to be staged on the Lithuanian side of the border.

Foreign Ministry Director on Pact Membership

LD2208145190 Warsaw PAP in English 1350 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 22—In an interview carried by the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily today, Jerzy Nowak, a director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Government Plenitpotentiary for Negotiations on the reform of the Warsaw Treaty spoke about the Pact's future and Poland's membership in it, stating in part:

"Central-East Europe is not too stable. A sudden dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty could create a 'vacuum' which could be filled by various forces, for instance nationalist. In order to prevent this, we could ponder restructuring the Warsaw Treaty into a kind of 'club' of states interested in maintaining stability in our region.

"Summing up: the Warsaw Treaty is ceasing to be indispensable. Poland is leaving itself all the possible options, including withdrawal from this Pact.

"Our participation is and will be solely a derivative of state security, our interests and the strategic goal of Polish foreign policy of drawing closer to Western Europe and entering its integration-oriented institutions. Our membership must be subordinated to a search for a new system of all-European security, of new roads leading to permanent stability on our continent, and the economic rebuilding of post-totalitarian states.

"The second condition (of Poland's continued membership) must be abidance by the principle of equality and sovereignty of member states, so as not to permit Soviet hegemony to return. Thirdly, our national Armed Forces must be subordinate to Polish command and must be ready to face possible threats from all geographic directions.

"One of the conditions of Poland's participation in the Warsaw Treaty is that it be free of a confrontational character towards the West, NATO inclusive.

"The term of a system of all-European security is very unprecise, and its materialization—distant. I think that for some time we will be dealing with a transitional system composed of four sub- systems operating together.

"The first—within the framework of the Atlantic Treaty which in time could expand its territorial range by some central European states.

"The second—the so-called cooperative system of CSCE states (for instance, in the field of disarmament verification, confidence building measures but without defensive functions).

"The third—formed from the Warsaw Treaty which in the case of full disintegration could be replaced by bilateral alignments.

"And the fourth—based on the European Community and possibly the West-European Union," Nowak told the paper.

KGB's Galkin Discusses Cooperation With SB

LD2208131690 Warsaw PAP in English 1149 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Report on interview with Major General Vasiliy Galkin, head of the official representation of the KGB in Poland, by unidentified TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] Krakow, Aug. 22—The latest issue of Catholic weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY carries an interview with General-Major [as received] Vasiliy Galkin, head of the official representation of KGB in Poland who is retiring after nearly 6 years of work in this country and will be replaced by General Major Smirnov. Here are excerpts from the conversation.

Gen. Galkin stressed that the KGB is not carrying out any subversive operations against Poland. Our representation is not involved in the affairs of Soviet citizens living in Poland, he said, and continued:

The representation chiefs have diplomatic passports so it has the immunity just as the chiefs of the Polish internal ministry representation in Moscow.

The representation is subordinate to the KGB headquarters and, specifically, KGB president.

Political changes which have taken place in Poland recently will undoubtedly lead to major changes in the very character of internal ministry and KGB cooperation in its priorities and essence.

Liquidation of the 3rd department in the Polish internal ministry signified change of your interests. In the KGB too, the 5th council of ideological subversion was replaced by council for protection of constitutional order.

Asked to comment on rumours that KGB had major role in political development of the last decade in Poland, Galkin replied:

"I can assure you that the rumours are groundless. Considering the most characteristic, from this point of view, period of turbulent developments in Poland from the time of the round table talks till the present moment, doesn't the peaceful, free of any external interference course of these developments confirm the correctness of the above statement?" [question as received]

Referring to Czechoslovakia, Galkin said that it was stated clearly at a press conference in Moscow on June 28, this year that "the KGB had nothing to do with the events in Czechoslovakia." For the KGB cannot act against the state leaders of the Soviet Union. [sentence as received]

As regards Poland none of us, including myself being here and on the spot watching this historical breakthrough, ever expected such a course of events. It seems sometimes that even God could not predict that.

Our cooperation continued on many directions covering, for instance, information exchange, didactic and scientific materials, exchange of experience in specialist training. Considering the membership of our states in the Warsaw Treaty, the sides succesfully cooperated in protection of the military sector. The cooperation on the plane of border protection was mutually advantageous.

We also had cooperation with the Polish Internal Ministry's Security Service, the SB. But it was confined to information exchange in cases when necessary, coordinate actions in such fields as combating international terrorism, drugs smuggling, corporate crime, various symptoms of extremist activities violating the interests of both countries.

In connection with press reports on the alleged KGB interference in the Polish security service affairs, I would like to stress that they are totally groundless. Neither the KGB nor its representation in Warsaw has ever did so.

When (Polish) internal affairs were involved, we never acted against and never jointly with the SB. There could be (and there is) information exchange on the activities of terrorist groups but only those originating from outside Poland.

Asked about the number of SB men trained in the Soviet Union and where they were trained, apart from the Dzierzynski Academy, Galkin said that the figures are known to the Polish internal ministry. "I can only say their contingent was very limited."

The SB agents were given ordinary professional training of personnel of this category. They studied penal and civil law, international law, crime detection, psychology, logics, social, political, and special sciences, foreign languages, especially those considered rare.

Terrorists have never been trained in the Soviet Union. That would be against Soviet outlooks on this abominable phenomenon of our times. The Soviet Union, its law enforcing organs, first of all the KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, are waging an active combat against terrorism and, in this connection, they seek increasingly broad contacts with security organs and police in other countries, capitalist included.

I think Poland has never trained terrorists. The purported training of terrorists in other Eastern and Central European countries are known only from reports in Western media.

The KGB representation has never maintained contacts with the leadership of the national defence ministry, the general staff, and Polish military intelligence. I can assure you that the KGB, according to its possibilities, has always passed to the Polish internal ministry political information interesting to it. This particularly involved the assessment of situation in regions where the Polish side had insufficient possibilities. The Polish internal ministry gave us information concerning the

problems of disarmament and arms reduction, as well as selected other questions vitally important to the Soviet Union.

I want to put special stress on the fact that the internal ministry has never acted on orders or any demands from the KGB. The Polish side has always been free to decide which information can be shared with the KGB.

Our advisors were present in the internal ministry and some other Polish ministries until 1954. This practice has never taken place in the recent 30 years, Galkin said.

Regarding my personnel, I can count them on one hand's fingers. Apart form them, we have 3-4 technical employees (a translator, a typist, a driver, and a handyman). The number of personnel in the representation after the beginning of this year has been reduced by nearly three times, which was dictated not only by change in the character of cooperation but also by economic reasons.

The Polish state protection office is in the phase of organization. This is why cooperation with its departments is limited now and, in fact, boils down to solving the most urgent questions.

Serious things are happening in the East European countries. They affected not only their internal order but also their fundamental international links within Warsaw Treaty and CMEA. However, despite the ongoing changes, countries of the region with the Soviet Union and Poland in the first place will not only continue to live nextdoor but cooperate in many fields, probably including the military sphere too. If there was need for cooperation between security organs of our countries until recently, then why should it not continue in future.

Let me stress once again that everything is being done on the principles of full mutuality. There is an outlet of Polish internal ministry in Moscow whose chief is General Sarewicz. His powers are analogous to ours.

Perestroyka within the KGB is a process overwhelming all spheres of life in our country, among them the activities of law enforcement organs, including the KGB. KGB has condemned all that was criminal in the operations of the Stalinist NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs]. It has started a mammoth work to restore the good reputation of the innocently suffering Soviet and foreign citizens. Obviously, this also concerns disclosing the fates of Polish officers who perished in the Soviet Union during World War 2.

One of the main directions of the perestroyka in KGB organs is to considerably increase the overtness of their activities.

Referring to the former General Kalugin, he knows full well of the profound perestroyka going on within the Soviet KGB but clearly refuses to notice it. Being a Soviet citizen, he can opine at home on changes in the Soviet Union. But as former agent he has no right to publish classified information concerning the activities of the KGB. After all, this principle is followed by special services men in all world countries, he concluded.

Walesa Views Solidarity Splits, Presidency

AU2208181890 Gdansk TYGODNIK GDANSKI in Polish 19 Aug 90 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by Jan Jakubowski; place and date not given: "Mr. Geremek, Mr. Michnik..."]

[Text] [Jakubowski] Lech, "Solidarity," which you have led for 10 years, is on the verge of splitting up on this, the eve of its 10th anniversary. I do not think anyone knows any longer what "Solidarity" is. Do you not regret this state of affairs?

[Walesa] No. I initiated the split myself. The "Solidarity" that we created in 1980, and whose ideals I swore to implement, has triumphed. I remember better than anyone else in Poland what it is we swore. We swore to put an end to the communist system, and we have done so. Another oath was that we would lead Poland to normality, political pluralism, and free elections in which numerous political parties would take part. We have still not achieved this, but I am the one who must do so. My oath has given me a moral duty to build pluralism in Poland. Therefore I have to design and encourage things, and do everything to make this pluralism actually emerge. The result of this is that "Solidarity" is splitting up, and that is good. That is why I have no regrets.

[Jakubowski] Why is it good?

[Walesa] I repeat, we created "Solidarity" to fight the Communists. But Brezhnev was still alive, so we had to begin by fighting for bread, while whispering about freedom. In order to fight for bread a union was required, so we created one. Ten million people joined it, of which I am now being reminded. It was good to have those ten million people in those days, but not today, now that we are fighting for freedom and democracy. That would be unnecessary ballast. Today we need parties, but various parties, not just a single "Solidarity" party. If we want to join Europe, we have to adapt ourselves to the European political system. The question is: What are we taking to Europe? Citizens Committees all governed by a single authority? A new monopoly? Why should we have these things? After all, there are tried and tested democratic patterns. Let us look how other people have implemented democracy, how the Italians, French, and Germans have done so. Everywhere there is a left wing, right wing, and center, and Poland should also have them. When I spoke of the need to have two strong legs, people told me that such a model is out of date, a political artifact, and yet they still harbored a desire to establish a monopoly. The system of struggle does not suit the system of work. It never did. The Polish United Workers Party spoiled everything for

us, and a single strong "Solidarity" might do the same. Let these people realize that.

[Jakubowski] Who?

[Walesa] Those who are fighting me, accusing me of being antidemocratic—my colleagues in the joint "Solidarity" struggle.

[Jakubowski] Professor Geremek recently described you as a populist frustrated by a lack of status in the political arena. In an interview for LIBERATION, he said that in 1989 he made a mistake by thinking that you do not need a place in public life.

[Walesa] That is not true. Geremek could not have said anything like that. And even if he did, he forgot that I myself decided what status I should hold. But I did not choose this status in order to finish off Geremek and others, but to help them in building the reforms. In performing this work, I did not want to be burdened with the office of president, prime minister, or any other title. And that is also important. By the way, let us review last year's situation. The first Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP] meeting in the Sejm discussed presidential candidates. I was the only OKP candidate for this post, but I refused it. Later, when Kisz Czak wanted to be prime minister, again there was a discussion, and again all the OKP deputies and senators resolved that the government must be led by Walesa. Again I refused. Instead, I proposed Mazowiecki, and compelled Geremek to become OKP chief, which was not easy, because they did not want him. I also compelled other people to assume other posts, so that they could be over there, and I could be over here, in "Solidarity." With a combined effort we can build reforms in Poland, I said. Why am I saying all this? To show you that when I helped them assume decision-making posts, I was considered a good candidate for president and prime minister. In fact, I was the only candidate! But as soon as I insisted that they fulfill their oath and commitments and start building pluralism and real democracy, they believed I had deteriorated. How can he imagine himself as a president, they said, a man with no education and no foreign languages? He is incapable of being a head of state! But they forgot I had already done more than the rest of them put together. So I turned out to be a bad man, because I had shaken people in their managerial armchairs, and begun to form a split. But how else could anyone establish pluralism without dismembering the giant that "Solidarity" had become, and separating it from the OKP and Citizens Committees? What chance do new political trees have if they continue to grow in the shadow of a giant oak? Therefore we had to help them. Therefore, Mr. Geremek, Mr. Michnik, and ladies and gentlemen, let us make another effort, but not for the sake of our positions, but for the sake of Poland. Let us help build a Poland that fits the rest of Europe. Let us see how others have adapted their countries to Europe, and let us support similar trends in Poland. The emerging parties have to be provided with newspapers, premises, and various concessions so that they can make a start in life, so that the tree of Polish democracy may blossom.

[Jakubowski] If you sit in this tree, which branch will you sit on?

[Walesa] If I want to help, and I must, then I cannot tip the balance in anyone's favor.

[Jakubowski] But you did help the Center Accord.

[Walesa] I helped it, but do not belong to it myself. The Center is close to my heart, because I am a Christian, and it is also pro-Christian. But that is not the reason I helped it. I helped it because it is weak. A mother always helps a weak child. On the opposite side were strong men like Geremek, Michnik, Turowicz. Why should I have helped them? It was enough not to interfere in their work, so I did not interfere. Now things have begun to get better.

[Jakubowski] Your critics say that you help the Center Accord because it wants you to be president.

[Walesa] Nonsense. That is not fair play. I told you, I could have become president last year. I could even be president today if I tried. If I wanted to live in the Belvedere Palace, would I fight a war with people like Geremek and Michnik, who have relationships with the left wing all over Europe and the world? Do you think I know nothing about this? I do know. That is why, if I wanted to become president, I would not disturb these gentlemen. Instead, they would gently come to me, and together we would win.

[Jakubowski] In that case, please tell me what kind of political arrangement Poland ought to have.

[Walesa] The basic division is a left wing and a right wing. The left wing should consist of a "Solidarity" center-left-wing group containing Michnik, Geremek, and others; plus a postcommunist left wing. I am waiting for a genuine communist party to emerge. I have been waiting for five years, but they do not seem to be in a hurry. Everyone is either embarrassed or afraid of the word "left wing," and yet there is a properly functioning left wing in every country, and these left wings are not anachronisms, but living organisms. There are social democratic parties almost everywhere. There are other left-wing groups as well, and such groups will probably also arise in Poland. The Center Accord has emerged as a center-right-wing group. So our political set up has already assumed strength. We also already have smaller parties that are more to the right. I am still waiting for a third political stream, and I am confident it will appear soon.

[Jakubowski] What kind of stream?

[Walesa] I do not want to be suspected of manipulation. All I have is a political hunch that a third stream is required and should emerge, and that it will emerge.

[Jakubowski] So how many parties should there be in Poland?

[Walesa] There might be 100 and there might be only three. I prefer not to have too many parties, but right now there should be more than there are at present. In order to revive democracy, one must begin by displaying the differences between various streams. People should describe themselves, discuss things with each other, and convince others of what they believe in, so that as many people will be as actively involved as possible. It does not matter if in the end, people realize that there are so many different parties that democracy is becoming inefficient. Eventually, people will merge and coalesce, like in other countries where democracy has succeeded. We must experience the stage of "large-scale" democracy and not try to restrict anything, or else people will conceal themselves behind their front doors, and we have already had that in the past.

[Jakubowski] Do you think Bujak's and Frasyniuk's Citizens Movement-Democratic Action is already a strong left-wing component?

[Walesa] Perhaps it is, but it should make its objectives clear, and not hide behind an artificial banner and renounce its values. An intelligent "Solidarity" left wing is what Poland needs. All these strong people spent such a long time hiding and scheming until the Center Accord inspired them to be active and reveal themselves. Now they are traveling all over Poland and talking. Frasyniuk, for example, is still talking in parables and hiding the essence of things. But he has already said too much, and can no longer back down. So I tell him: Wladek, do not disguise the matter. What you are engaged in is a just and necessary cause, not detrimental to anyone. People must understand what you and your people are playing at, and what it is you want other people to do.

[Jakubowski] Has the slogan "acceleration," which you launched in the spring, borne any fruit yet?

[Walesa] Maybe it will, but I have paid a price for it. I have been forced to listen to accusations about demolishing stability and interfering with the reforms, which can only be implemented if society is united with the government. I have been forced to listen to accusations that I want to become president for the sole purpose of ruling with an axe or by means of decrees. These are the things my former comrades-in-arms in the struggle against communism have accused me of. The interesting thing is that they made these accusations only after I had upset their self-confidence, their feeling that they were taking the right path. Well, they are no longer taking the right path, they have spoiled it. They have been unable to take advantage of the enthusiasm which society displayed last year and the confidence which society had vested in them. I am the only man to visit factories. Every week I meet various work forces and communities and listen to what people have to say. None of the others do so. And people tell me the reforms are not fair, the costs thereof are unfairly distributed, that mafias and cliques continue to rule in the provinces, and that schemers belonging to the old nomenklatura, who stuffed themselves at society's expense while the Communists were in power, have fared even better under "Solidarity" because they have formed companies, taken over state property, and are living like kings. What is more, they have burned all incriminating documents. People say of "Solidarity": "They demand sacrifices from us, but they do not stop the old nomenklatura from either getting even richer, or from covering up their misdeeds." Well, my friends, we have scored into our own goal by getting the reform off to a bad start, by being too slow in implementing the rule of law.

[Jakubowski] At last you have emerged as an advocate of the axe, for what alternative is their to the law?

[Walesa] Wait a minute. I do advocate the law, for I support democracy. The point is that law consists of more than mere legislation which the Sejm takes months to adopt, especially when the Sejm is deliberately delaying this legislation. Is legislation supposed to control our entire activity, as it does at present? Does legislation have to dictate which hand I have to open the door with, or which foot I have to enter a room with. I think that, initially at any rate, there ought to be less legislation, but this legislation ought to be better thought out, and better suited to the most important paths that Poland has to take during this momentous period.

[Jakubowski] And what are these paths?

[Walesa] Exactly. The Sejm was supposed to consider what the most important paths would be over the next year or two, but I do not think it has done so. The result is an avalanche of legislation, a Sejm that is overworked beyond all measure, and low effectiveness for whatever legislation has been passed. At least that is what the people I meet say. Privatization, the most important matter when a system is being changed, has been dragged out over the entire past year, and is still not complete. The Sejm has not even touched matters concerning elections and election rules. In that case, how are we supposed to change the political system? I am concerned about effective legislation. All these swindles involving companies set up by the nomenklatura could have been prevented by means of a government or presidential directive. People have been saying so for a long time. The burning of documents and evidnece of these swindles could also have been prevented, as well as many other evil things that have happened. An effective law cannot bind the hands of the executive authorities when evil things are happening and the government or president is powerless. I will say nothing of the fact that in our case, the president was not interested in stopping all these practices. That is what prompted me to talk about decrees, the reaction to which was a tirade against me to the effect that if I were president, I would rule by decree. Well, if that is what is necessary.... Apart from that, a president elected in a democratic election and vested with the trust of the entire society is surely entitled to lay down some law. A president must have the courage to make even unpopular decisions.

[Jakubowski] At last we have reached a thorny issue, the sensitive issue of the presidency. What you are saying about a general presidential election is new. So far, while supporting your candidacy for president, the Center Accord has called for elections to be held as quickly as possible, and that the president be chosen by the National Assembly.

[Walesa] I tell you I do not belong to the Center. The Center was needed to activate the left wing, and it has done so. Because all the key figures immediately joined the Center, I came to its aid to stop them from tearing it apart. As soon as I managed to break the monopoly, the question of programmatic differences emerged. That is not so easy, because for so many years everyone opposed the Communists together, without admitting whether they belonged to the left or to the right. So in the beginning, they argued about how the president should be elected. The Center claimed the present parliament should elect him. That is good, because it sparked a debate on a subject about which the rank and file had been talking ever since the June elections, but our gentlemen at the top had been sleeping in their armchairs and pretending that the subject was nonexistent. As soon as the Center raised the subject itself, however, the people from the left, Bujak and others, woke up and decided that the subject does exist after all, but has to be settled more democratically. That is what I want, an argument about the best form of democracy. My view, however, is that the president has to be chosen by the whole society. The president is the leader of the state, and a leader should be accepted by the majority. I would even agree to compulsory participation in the election. Then everyone could express his preference according to the principle of maximum democracy, instead of claiming not to have voted at all. That is what happened during the local government elections. People did not vote because they could not be bothered to do so, and now they are complaining that the wrong people have been elected.

[Jakubowski] Do you think the president should have broader powers than the ones the present Constitution gives him?

[Walesa] I prefer not to discuss that. A good driver will drive in any conditions, whether he is behind the wheel of a Syrena or a Mercedes. A weak driver will crash even the best car. That is that. I will drive a Syrena or a Mercedes, whichever you prefer. Even a tractor.

[Jakubowski] Nevertheless, let us try and discuss these powers. If you were the driver, I am sure you would be concerned about what you can do and what you cannot do.

[Walesa] The powers of the president must be decided by parties and other forces, after careful consideration of what Poland needs. There have still been no decisions on this subject, so it is difficult for me to say anything. I think the president should, nevertheless, take charge of defense and international affairs, because a car only has one driver, not ten. It must be determined, however, with whom the president has to discuss his decisions, who approves them, and what people he has to have on his staff. Furthermore, the president must not be subordinated to the prime minister, nor must he interfere with the prime minister's running of the ministries, the entire economy, etc. The prime minister is there to govern.

[Jakubowski] What should the prime minister's subordination to the president involve?

[Walesa] I have not yet given this careful consideration, but I think that when there is something wrong with some sphere of daily life, if results [of government policy] are not visible, or when people are angry, I ought to be able to call the prime minister and tell him: Listen, convene a parliamentary debate, let a committee investigate the matter, let the minister in charge of this sphere defend his policies. If he is incapable of doing so, you must do something about it; not me, because you are the boss. One cannot drag problems out indefinitely. We cannot have a situation where the president does not attend Sejm sessions, no one is in charge, the mess is getting even bigger, and society is becoming upset. Someone has to say stop, and that someone should be the president, who does not make any changes or dismiss people himself, but when things are bad, he makes sure that parliament holds a debate and makes decisions.

[Jakubowski] That sounds very democratic. Nevertheless, people who know you claim that you have a dictatorial predisposition. For example, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk told me in an interview that the union has no control whatsoever over its chairman.

[Walesa] Everything I have ever done was dictated by the prevailing conditions at the time. During martial law, when Jurczyk and others told me to act democratically, I refused, because I would have been locked up. They did not agree with me, they insisted on democratic decision-making. Well, they fell into a trap. Michnik and others went to jail. So did Frasyniuk. I even gave him my pullover, otherwise he would have gone in with just the shirt on his back. I had to make decisions on my own. But today, who can accuse me of imposing things on other people? Am I not giving the others complete freedom? Look how often I am being dragged into OKP and Citizens Committee meetings at inconvenient times. Yet, I am not imposing anything. All I am doing is opposing the idea of every single "Solidarity" stream being under the control of a single leadership, a single monopoly. I am more democratic than all the rest of them put together. One cannot apply solutions that belong to another era. Every dictatorship from every era has collapsed. I like to win. In order to win today, I have to bank on democracy.

[Jakubowski] But Lech, your union is becoming less and less effective. "Our" government is ignoring it more and more, and people's lives are harder and harder. People have had enough of politics, elections, and the president.

[Walesa] Anyone who takes an intelligent look at Poland must realize the necessity of change, the necessity of

converting to a different system and surviving the present very unfavorable period. We could have caused strikes in such giants as the Katowice Steelworks, the Lenin Steelworks, and the Gdansk Shipyard, where the workers class is the largest, and forced the government to alter its policies. But at the same time we knew that these giants are the least adapted to the new economics and the new system. That is why we have to permit the reforms and make sacrifices today, so that we can be good trade unionists under good conditions tomorrow. The union's task is to keep the reforms intact, however, and help people at the same time. Its task is to see to it that no one is alone, no one is without work, and the costs of the reform are fairly distributed. We have to finish the work we started.

Walesa on Indicting Government Figures

AU2308122990 Rome ANSA in English 1024 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] (ANSA)—Rome, August 23—Ex-Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa has said in an interview that some members of the current Polish Government will be put on trial for the destruction of Security Service archives.

Interviewed by IL SABATO—a conservative Catholic newspaper—Walesa said that he was unrepentant about decisions made over the last ten years, including those which had split the movement.

Walesa is due to arrive in Italy on Sunday for the annual meeting of Communion and Liberation—a radical Catholic organization—and he will also have a private audience with the pope.

Citizens Committee Urges Party Law Amendment

LD2108222490 Warsaw PAP in English 1904 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 21—Members of the political commission of the Citizen's Committee at Solidarity leader Lech Walesa have submitted a statement to PAP calling for amendments to the new law on political parties. Excerpts:

The issues regulated by the law on political parties passed by the Sejm (lower house) on July 28, 1990 are of key importance for the fashioning of the system of parliamentary democracy in Poland. That is why we regret to say that these regulations in fact aim at stalling the development of new political parties which derive from the struggle against communist totalitarianism.

The law empowers the constitutional tribunal to interfere into the contents of the statutes and programs of the parties and even to ban their operation on the basis of completely general and legally unprecise criteria.

Submitting parties to such a form of political supervision places them at a disadvantage as compared to ordinary associations.

Article 6 of the law bans political parties to "use any material and financial assistance from foreign persons in the understanding of the foreign exchange law." This creates privileges for parties which are remnants of the communist system. The situation of new parties is totally different in this respect.

Social organizations and initiatives surfacing in Poland nowadays must seek financial assistance abroad, especially among Polish communities abroad. Circles of our emigration which are ideologically close to us frequently render material assistance to new political parties. In this case the law passed by the Sejm commits an act of double discrimination: Financial and moral, as it closes the door for our independence-seeking emigration to partaking in the political life of the homeland which is freeing itself.

Summing up, the law on political parties is a typical product of the outdated political alignment to which 65 percent of the deputies of the current Sejm owe their seats.

We call on independent deputies, for whom parliamentary democracy is not just an empty phrase, to start a legislative initiative aimed at amending the law on political parties.

Industry Minister Discusses Political Aims

AU2208115690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Aug 90 p 1 and Economy and Law Supplement p 2

[Report on interview with Deputy Industry Minister Michal Wojtczak by Krzysztof Gottesman; place and date not given: "I Am A Pragmatist"]

[Text] Michal Wojtczak, 34-year-old founder of the Greater Poland Economic Society, became deputy agriculture minister last December. Not for long though, because in June 1990 he resigned from that post. In the past few days, however, Prime Minister Mazowiecki, at the suggestion of Industry Minister Syryjczyk, nominated him to the position of deputy industry minister.

[Gottesman] Rumor has it that you learned of your nomination from the press. Is this so?

[Wojtczak] The nomination did not come as a surprise, but what did surprise me was the efficiency displayed by the state administration. After all, the prime minister is on vacation, and I am also on vacation....

[Gottesman] Why did you resign from the Ministry of Agriculture after only six months?

[Wojtczak] I resigned mainly for organizational reasons. I believed and still believe that this aspect requires broad changes. Second, I had a different outlook on agriculture than the minister of agriculture had. Time was also passing by, and I was seeing no positive results of my efforts. One of my primary tasks was to set up an Agricultural Market Agency. When it was founded, I believed that we needed to take further ranging steps, especially to regulate the agricultural products market,

because this is the basis on which we could have restructured Polish agriculture. I had some ideas, I presented them, and they were not accepted. I came to the conclusion that in order to have a clear conscience, I ought not to be wasting my time doing something over which I had no real influence.

[Gottesman] But later you withdrew your resignation....

[Wojtczak] Yes. Following my discussion with Prime Minister Mazowiecki, I decided to suspend my resignation until a new agriculture minister was appointed.

[Gottesman] We are still waiting, however, for a new minister of agriculture.

[Wojtczak] I know, but the prime minister probably decided that there was no need to wait for a new minister.

[Gottesman] What were your plans after you resigned?

[Wojtczak] That question is now more difficult to answer, because it comes after this appointment. I had lots of things to be getting on with. I had been a businessman, had run my own business, and then I set up the Greater Poland Economic Society; I am still its chairman. When news of my resignation become generally known, I received lots of job offers—more than I had ever received before in my life. These were mostly from companies and corporations that were setting up branches in Poland, and some of these offers were very attractive financially, even compared with Western standards.

[Gottesman] Who suggested you take the new post? Rumor has it that it happened while you were on vacation.

[Wojtczak] No, it was not like that. This matter is too important. For several months now I have been thinking about the need for the government to make a policy decision about small- and medium-size enterprises. I outlined my propositions in writing to the prime minister. It seems to me that after the monetary changes, the greatest transformations that are currently happening in Poland will mainly affect property ownership. I do not just mean the flow from state to private ownership, but the creation of new businesses. This will become the driving force in our economy. We have set up the Ministry of Ownership Issues, but we need some other body that will concentrate on small- and medium-size businesses. This must be done not merely in the industrial sector, but also in agriculture, where we must make profound changes in the system of trade and the provision of services. Such activities were previously conducted without any coordination, and everybody did his own thing. Coordination has been shown to work, and to this very day there is a ministry of small- and medium-size businesses in the United States, despite the fact that the U.S. economy is typically liberal.

[Gottesman] You are not only a business manager, or an economic activist, to use the old-fashioned cliche, you are also a politician associated with certain conservative circles. What is your political background?

[Wojtczak] I come from business circles rather than from the intelligentsia, which seems to play politics for the sake of playing politics. I have always taken a practical approach to everything I did. That is why I founded the Greater Poland Economic Society and thanks to this, I was invited to join Lech Walesa's team. I come from Poznan, and I was brought up to have a pragmatic and constructive approach. In the general election, I was greatly helped by the fact that Father Piotr Wawrzyniak was a relative of mine. Here, I am referring to respect for the law and its supremacy in all things, as well as using the law to its logical conclusion when building up an opposition movement—namely, the search for loopholes—not just to evade the law, but to create new forms. I remain convinced that new forms, structures, organizations, and methods of action assume such a dynamism that they automatically break through the old forms, against which they are struggling. In my example this would be the system of communist policy and economy.

This was my view, and I invited my compatriots from Greater Poland to join our society. I know that this is the road for further changes. I do not mean to say that the society I founded was instrumental in destroying the communist system in Poland, but I am convinced that it prepared people to start creating a new reality before it became possible to do so legally. I am convinced of it to this very day.

[Gottesman] Is your pragmatism and positivism a motive for you political activity? I refer to the Forum of the Democratic Right and the even earlier Poznan Congress of the Center-Right.

[Wojtczak] Yes. I believe that the time has come to define ourselves politically. This must be done not to propagate the idea of the two political pillars, but for the reason that there is a need for a thorough consolidation of Polish society. This comes partly from my positivist way of thinking. Nevertheless, in order for it to be real and constructive I do not think that a marriage of the left and right is possible. Thus, this leaves us with a maximum of three options. That is the reason why this spring I tried to organize a center-right forum, to which I invited people ranging from the moderate center-right, linked to various Catholic movements through typical Christian democratic ties, the liberal parties, to people from more radical conservative formations.

[Gottesman] What was the main aim of this congress?

[Wojtczak] The future of the Polish political scene lies in the prospects of certain people reaching an understanding; people who have certain political things in common. First, respect for the law must be the paramount thing, against which any human endeavor must be judged, that is to say, conservative principles which say that reality can be changed through evolutionary ways. Second, I think that

attitudes should be judged by reference to Christian criteria. Regardless of the political situation, the determinant must be Christian personalism.

The third element is economic liberalism as it is at the end of the 20th century. That is to say liberalism with a state that has a presence in the economic arena, especially in the sphere of protecting the citizen within this economic mechanism.

All those people who hold these principles dear, can join, unite, and create a single common front, without it effecting their particular identities. This does not mean that at other times, for example, at elections, one cannot try other political combinations.

[Gottesman] How do you see your future, as a politician or a business manager?

[Wojtczak] My future definitely lies in the political sphere. Of course, every political activity is linked to economic activity. One needs to have a distinct economic vision which will allow political programs to function in a broader dimension. I see a role for myself here, not in business.

Demonstraters Occupy University Square

AU2208174190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] A police-authorized rally organized by the Revolution Party (Christian-Democratic) took place today in Union Square. Although the organizers said that they would renounce a planned march on Bucharest's main thoroughfares, after the conclusion of the rally in Union Square, some of the demonstrators proceeded toward University Square. At 1740 [1440 GMT], traffic was blocked in that area. Many passersby joined the group of demonstrators blocking University Square. Around 1800 [1500 GMT], the initial number of demonstrators increased threefold. They chanted antigovernment slogans or slogans complaining of food shortages in the shops.

Some 20 minutes after the total traffic interruption, traffic from Romana Square to Union Square was resumed, once the demonstrators withdrew from there. Traffic in the opposite direction was still blocked at 1800 [1500 GMT]. Several hundred citizens were peacefully demonstrating on the carriageway. There was a (?cordon) there stopping the traffic, while police in that area were conducting a peaceful dialogue with groups of demonstrators.

Both in University Square and in Romana Square, where they eventually arrived, the demonstrators observed moments of silence in honor of the revolution martyrs. After the commemoration in Romana Square, the demonstrators returned to University Square, where they again blocked traffic in both directions. A few moments ago, the president of Romanian Television received a telephone call from Mr. Marian Munteanu, president of the League of Students of Bucharest University, who told him that the league has nothing to do with this demonstration. He also said that the league does not approve of blocking traffic in that area.

Party Leaders Disavow March

AU2208200190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Report on statements by Ion Fluieras, general secretary of the Revolution Party (Christian-Democratic), and Gheorghe Huidu, secretary of the 16-21 December Association; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] At this moment hundreds of people are still in University Square, after some of the participants in the Union Square rally decided to organize a march toward Romana Square. The central zone of University Square is blocked by demonstrators, who are chanting anticommunist and antigovernment slogans. [passage omitted] In connection with the Bucharest demonstration, a ROMPRES reporter registered a few statements:

[Begin recording] [Fluieras] None of the marchers belong to our party. The marchers took our party's placard—without having any right to it—and a copy of the authorization legally obtained by us. I know the people who took this authorization away from us, they are there in [word indistinct] with you, and are creating a bad precedent—namely, that we, the opposition, are fighting each other. What kind of opposition is that? We did not want to block the traffic. We remained in University Square and are waiting for them to return from this march, so that we can get back our authorization and placard and reopen the roads. As you can see, however, they hid the placard and also stopped the traffic. We are going to leave the square, because there is nothing else left for us to do here.

[Huidu] We participated in the Union Square rally as guests. The rally was also attended by representatives of the People's Alliance and other political groups, which want to support the (?newly formed) Revolution Party (Christian-Democratic). After the rally, there was a rift, which places us in a difficult situation. Some people left and organized this unauthorized march, which led to the blocking of the traffic, which is an action that compromises us. [end recording]

'Provocateurs' Blamed for Protest

AU2308091090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] An authorized rally was organized yesterday by the Revolution Party (Christian-Democratic) in Bucharest's Union Square. During the rally, some of the demonstrators marched to University Square, which they blocked with metal panels taken from a nearby building site. This action interrupted traffic between Magheru and 1848 Boulevards. A communique received from the Ministry of Interior points out that when the forces of order were ready to intervene, the 120-130 people present in the square removed the panels, thus freeing the street. Consequently, there was no further need for a police intervention.

In the communique, the Ministry of Interior again appeals to those seeking approval for the organization of rallies to study legal provisions and to act accordingly. They should realize that no one is allowed to interrupt traffic and public order in Bucharest or any other locality. In another communique, the Revolution Party (Christian-Democratic) says that the Union Square rally proceeded normally and without violence until 1810 [1510 GMT), when some provocateurs using photo copies of the party's banner moved on University Square. The party expresses indignation at their actions and points out that no party member was in the square or occupied any part of it. The 21 December Association announces that it had nothing to do with the demonstration and the blocking of traffic in University Square, considering this a provocation aimed at society's destabilization, with unforeseeable consequences.

'Sensational Disclosures' About Revolution

AU2308145890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1425 GMT 23 Aug 90

["Picture of the Revolution—Prominent Figures' Disclosures"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/8/1990—General Nicolae Militaru, minister of national defence right after the revolution, and Professor Silviu Brucan, one of the leaders of the National Salvation Front who has meanwhile withdrawn from public life, make sensational disclosures in an extensive interview published in daily ADEVARUL, August 23 issue, on the truths of the revolution, implicitly rejecting some fancy plots presented in the press.

The reader thus learns that the dissidence against Ceausescu started right on his appointment at the head of the party and that the first dissident nucleus was formed by Generals Ion Ionita (minister of national defence between 1966 and 1976), Nicolae Militaru and Kostyal Stefan, who was associated through Professor Brucan to other two nuclei of three persons each.

The schemes of the plotters pursued to create breaches in the three basic supports of the dictatorship: the Communist Party, the Army and the Securitate. As the dictatorship was brutal and efficient, the achievement of the necessary connection between the military conspiracy and the revolted mass failed.

By mid-70s Generals Ion Ionita and Ion Gheorghe, chief of staff thought that a coup of force against Ceausescu could be organized, but other plotters opined that it would not have been efficient, since the conditions for a popular revolt were not ripe. In the '80s the situation had changed and, considering the circumstances during the 1977 earthquake, when, in the absence of the dictatorial couple that were on a visit in Africa, the power in the country had been paralyzed, since nobody assumed the responsibility of leadership, they planned the capturing and annihilation of the Ceausescu supporters' nucleus in the party leadership, the occupation of the radio and TV stations to launch an appeal to uprising without which the military action would have no chance of success.

In that period, both generals Ionita and Militaru and Professor Brucan consider Ion Iliescu to be the man fit to replace Ceausescu. Seeing his reserve as regarded any action outside the system, they turned away, at least for what they had planned to do then. Subsequently, these last few years, General Militaru considers, Mr. Iliescu demonstrated he had nothing in common with the communist dogmas, insisting on the necessity to change the system as a whole.

The putsch had been planned for October 15-17, 1984 when Ceausescu was due to visit the Federal Republic of Germany (the information on the schedule of visits used to be supplied by one of the members of the Executive Political Committee, Ioan Ursu). But the sending away from Bucharest of the big military unit on which the plotters counted and the passing to reserve of its commander thwarted the plot. It was a treason pursuant to which Ceausescu was however not able to learn too much about their scheme, thanks to the observance of the rules of conspiracy.

The plotters' strategy resulted in breaches in the Army and the Securitate rather than in the Communist Party. That was the key to the whole political development (with its positive and negative aspects) during the revolution and after that, to the day.

Jun Unrest Inquiry Results To Be Released

AU2308103490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0953 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/8/1990—The chairman of the commission inquiring into the June 13-15 incidents, deputy Radu Nicolae, stated that the commission carries on an intensive activity, as it wishes to disclose the whole truth about these tragic events as soon as possible.

In an interview with Bucharest radio station Mr. Nicolae showed there would be more hearings of miners and other persons involved in those incidents. In the second part of September parliament and the press will be presented with the inquiry's conclusions.

Roman Discusses Economic Reforms, Implementation

AU2208201690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1830 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/8/1990—In an interview on TV Prime Minister Petre Roman rejected on August 22 the accusation of liberalism addressed to the government, recalling that the executive had declared from the very beginning for decentralization and for autonomy of the economic agents. However, in the period of transition the government will not give up a certain control through economic levers of the enterprises' activity, considering that the foreign balance too is involved, Petre Roman mentioned.

The head of the executive rejected also the accusation of lack of firmness in the application of the reform, maintaining that it had promoted a fundamental law that had already been passed in the parliament with an overwhelming majority, regarding the transformation of the state enterprises into autonomous units and commercial societies. What we have not done for it was not possible, the prime minister said, inter alia, is to palliate the crisis, since this can begin only with the refloating of the economic activity. He said the target is difficult to attain, since a resorption of the crisis takes a kind of measures that may contradict those needed for the implementation of the reform. The prime minister considers it the duty of the government to seek the most suitable compromise in this respect.

The prime minister ruled out as immaterial the accusations referring to the fact that he does not speed up the rhythm of the reform, explaining that it would lead to a deepening of the crisis and upset the population the material condition of which is already precarious. We must try, Petre Roman said, to maintain the advantages we were able to get after the revolution in this domain. But this is not possible without refloating the economy.

Admitting that in industry people do not work, the prime minister considers it the duty of the government to seek out the causes of this situation and the fit solutions. He opines that the situation is only to a little extent due to the shortage of some raw materials. Mainly, it is about the absence of a legal framework that could not be created yet and announced the government's intention to promote some incentives, thus laying the cornerstone to the process of refloating.

Petre Roman opines that things go well in agriculture precisely owing to the fact that a real reform was started already in spring, as well as the provision of the legal framework and of well-oriented credits as incentive.

In consideration of the limited supply of certain foodstuffs and of the inflationary pressure exerted by the large amounts of uncirculated money, the premier said rations in their distribution might be set. The government does not intend to raise the prices of these products but it will resettle the prices of the raw materials supporting the industry, in line with the prices in force in the world market.

Stating in favour of the convertibility of the leu, he opined that that measure should be prepared by ensuring an equilibrated external balance and a reserve of hard currency to intervene in situations of crisis. Mr. Petre Roman said Romania had no foreign debt, which did not mean it did not want to take credits for profitable activities and wide-scope projects to update and technologically reequip economic activities.

The Romanian premier blamed the illicit and apparently licit purloining of commodities from enterprises and announced that steps would be taken to severely punish the guilty parties. He asked for the support of enterprises and of the population in detecting such acts.

We will not be able to redress the economy, the premier said inter alia, unless we have true economic motors, which, however, are dependent on strong foreign partners, of whom the government only asks to protect the human potential and the environment, requirements which large companies do understand.

Answering a question concerning the removal of former state clerical staff, the premier said he had selected his associates some of whom he only met the month the government was created according to competence criteria and that they, in their turn, made their teams according to the same criteria. Admitting that at the grass roots there were people who still cling to their chairs the prime minister warned them society would not tolerate them any longer.

TU Desires Direct Discussion With Roman

AU2208201190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1825 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/8/1990—The Trade-Union Federation "Infratirea" (fraternity) called a meeting at the "Tractorul" stadium in Brasov on Wednesday, August 22. The meeting was attended by several thousand workers in Brasov factories and trade-union leaders from several enterprises throughout the country.

Prior to the meeting a dialogue was conducted between trade union leaders and enterprises managers and the government representatives Prime Minister Petre Roman appointed to look into the problems in Brasov.

The prime minister's order was read on the creation of the government commission come to Brasov to analyse the problems posed by workers in machine building as concerns raw materials supply, the future development of enterprises, the population's supply, medical assistance and the link with trade unions. Trade-union leaders and enterprise managers informed of the problems raised by trade unionists and of the frame of mind of working collectivities.

The meeting was opened by Mr. Lucian Beschea, a member of the leadership of "Infratirea," who read a list of claims formulated by trade unions. Taking the floor was also Mr. Nicolae Preda, leader of "Infratirea," who referred to ways in which trade unions unsuccessfully tried to solve the problems of machine-building workers.

In their addresses, Mr. Andrei Pintelie, secretary of state, head of the machine-building department of the Ministry of Resources and Industry, and Mr. Vladimir Pasti, adviser to the prime minister, referred to the measures the government took and will take to redress the economy, to raise the population's living standard, stressing the difficulties encountered and the need for understanding to be shown. The speakers were repeatedly booed by groups of participants. The wish was expressed to have the prime minister in Brasov so that existing problems could be discussed and solved.

Idea of National Bilingualism Rejected

AU2208142390 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 14 Aug 90 p 7

[Lucia Valahu article: "Is it an Argument for Bolyai University?"]

[Text] "Puntea" [The Bridge], "a publication of the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania [MDUR] published in Cluj," in its No. 8-9 of 27 July 1990 issue publishes, among other material, "An Argument for the Bolyai University," signed by Sandor Balazs. Although

on other occasions I have mentioned the frail nature of arguments used by certain writers in the favor of this institution, and although I believe that the Bolyai University was created as a means of national diversion and can be viewed as such in the future, I want to mention from the very beginning that I am not—under any circumstances—against the idea of its existence. I defy the hypocrisy with which certain authors present this issue, however, and the ultimatum-like tone used by certain groups and formations, as well as the lack of ability of some Hungarian MDUR leaders to understand that it is immoral to profit from a certain situation, and intimidate the ethnic majority, giving them the humiliating feeling of insecurity.

I express solidarity with all arguments in the aforementioned article except for one: that of bilingualism. It is certainly true that in certain localities and areas in Transylvania people speak two languages. Or even three, four, or five! Under these circumstances, the author recalls a precedent, that of bilingualism in Finland, where both the Finnish and the Swedish languages are official languages, although only six percent of that country's population is Swedish. How they reached this situation is the Finnish and Swedish people's business. That is a somewhat older historical compromise, a unique phenomenon, which some people could consider absurd. Absurd or not, however, this historical accident cannot be taken as a model.

Thus, the Swedish University in Finland is based on official bilingualism and the fact that both the Finnish and the Swedish languages are official languages. Maybe those who raise this argument for our country are setting the cart before the horse. Because those who deliberately mix up cause and effect can further reason: We have a university in the Hungarian language, and where there is a university in the language of the minorities—that is, in truly democratic and civilized countries—there should also be an official, state bilingualism. The conclusion emerges by itself....

And something else: In a way the Bolyai University exists! It is called Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj. If we reach the conclusion that the general national interest calls for a separation, than there is no ground for concern. Until then, we believe that it is not good to use forced comparisons, such as the one about the bilingualism, because there is and there will be only one official language in Romania.

Reassessment of Former National Day Noted

AU2208150990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1253 GMT 22 Aug 90

["Agora: 23 August—Necessary reconsiderations—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/8/1990—The Bucharest press pleads for the rewriting of the history of the day of 23 August, Romania's former national day, about which diametrically opposed assessments have already been made in the post-revolution period.

The insaturation of the Soviet-type communism was neither spontaneous nor decreed by the victors, writes for instance daily "DIMINEATA," close to the presidential circles. The imported communism could not have been so deeply rooted in Romania and had consequences so difficult to eradicate had there not been certain historical antecedents among which 23 August 1944 holds an important place. The paper recalls in the context the proposal made by Ana Pauker (an outstanding member of Gheorghiu-Dej's team) that Romania's national day should be not 23 August but 6 March 1945 when the strong fist of Vyshinski, Romania's Stalinist gauleiter, imposed the goverment of "broad democratic concentration" led by Dr. Petru Groza, actually a cryptocommunist government which most zealously played into Moscow's hands.

By making the break with the axis on 23 August 1944 Romania was to know the devastating consequences of the war, the Romanian Army bearing the continuous pressure of the Red Army, as troublesome as an ally as it was overwhelming as an enemy. The paper reminds Stalin's felony and the tacit complicity of the Anglo-Americans owing to which hundreds of thousands of Romanian soldiers and officers were sent to Siberia as prisoners instead of being treated as allies, and the Romanian economy was left at the mercy of the Soviet occupants. The major profit and only consolation of the Romanians was the liberation of the sacred land of Transylvania stolen by the Horthyists through the unjust Vienna award.

Daily "ADEVARUL" is of the opinion that first of all the act of 23 August 1944 managed to avoid the transformation of this country into the scene of a devastating war. Through the "great revolution," as Iuliu Maniu (the leader of the National Peasants' Party, one of the main opposition forces during Marshal Antonescu's time, tried and sentenced like the latter by the Communists) called it at that time, the decisionmaking forces of the country also tried to avoid military occupation and the turning into hostile territory. It is true that from this point of view the Romanians' expectations were not fulfilled but conditions were put in place for a more operative liberation of the northern part of Transylvania from under Horthy occupation.

The Romanian revolution of August 1944 was as "ADEVARUL" stresses among other things one of the major events of the second world conflagration through its multiple and significant geopolitical, economic and military consequences as it contributed to the sensible shortening of the war. The act of 23 August 1944 has a European dimension as does the fact that from that moment on the Romanian people put its entire potential in the service of the anti-Nazi coalition. It is equally true that in this respect too the Romanians' expectations were not fulfilled as Romania was not granted the fully deserved status of cobelligerent, the daily concludes.

Defined in Gheorghiu-Dej's time as "the day of Romania's liberation from under the fascist yoke by the Red Army" and by Ceausescu as "the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation" the day of 23 August eclipsed during the communist dictatorship all the great holidays of the Romanians: 24 January (the union of the principalities of Moldavia and Walachia), 9 May (proclamation of Romania's independence won in the 1877 war against the Ottoman Empire), 1 December 1918 (union of Transylvania with Romania which resulted in the Unitary National State).

The last one have recently been proclaimed Romania's national day by the 20 May elected Parliament in its first session.

NPCDP Structure, Composition Reorganized

AU2208184990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1723 GMT 22 Aug 90

["Political Life: Reorganization of Central Leadership in the National Peasant Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/8/1990—In recent sessions the leadership of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [NPCDP] decided to reorganize both party structures and its composition and to amend provisions in the statute.

In the new formula, the party leadership includes frontrankers under 30 in a proportion of 30 percent, members in the 30-55-year-old bracket in a proportion of 50 percent, and older party cadres in a proportion of 20 percent.

The party's leading bodies are the bureau, the central leadership and the standing executive delegation. The bureau includes the party chairman, Mr. Corneliu Coposu, its first vice-chairman, Mr. Ion Diaconescu, three vice-chairmen, Messrs. Ioan Alexandru, Ioan Barbus and Constantin Constantinescu, a secretary-general, Mr. Ioan Lup, and the director of the central departments, Mr. Gabriel Tepelea.

The party's central leadership, which also includes the bureau, consists of a director for cultural and scientific relations, academician Caius Iacob, a coordinating director for legal affairs, Mr. Vasile Gionea, the director of the leading newspaper "DREPTATEA," Mr. Paul Lazarescu, a representative of former political detainees, Mr. Constantin Dumitrescu, and the 24 directors of the central departments. The central leadership also includes five representatives of the special youth organization, five representatives of the organization of party workers, four representatives of the women's organization, two representatives of the party press, the protocol director and the chairman of the capital city's organization.

The standing delegation includes the 47 chairmen of county organizations and of the capital's seven districts, the parliamentarians of the party, the department deputy directors, the delegates of the special organizations, the delegates of the party press, the delegate of the auxiliary (pupils') organization, the delegates elect of each county and district organization.

* Brucan on Differences With Front Leaders

90BA0278B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian18 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

[Part two of interview with Silviu Brucan by U. Valureanu; place and date not given; part one of the interview from ROMANIA LIBERA of 17 July was published in the 31 July East Europe Daily Report]

[Text] [Valureanu] What are your relations with the NSF [National Salvation Front]? After the statements you made abroad, the NSF published a communique which was not exactly favorable to you....

[Brucan] I was and I remain a member of the Front not because of the goodwill of the Front's Directorate Collegium but by virtue of my record of services in the struggle to oust the Ceausescu dictatorship and to establish and consolidate the Front. I don't think that anyone in the Collegium can show the same record not even if we put all five of them together. My difficulties with the Front leadership began on 12 January, when I said in the National Council that Iliescu and Roman made a monumental mistake in letting themselves be manipulated by Mazilu and giving up on matters of principle under the pressure of the masses in the square. As I said on that occasion—I was right there in the building—that had I been consulted, too, there would have been no need for promises and referendums; they didn't like hearing that, although I would think that listening to such criticism is one aspect of a normal democratic process. I resigned from th Executive Bureau on 4 February, after the Front was finally separated from the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council], and I want to point out that on that occasion I took advantage of the interview carried in ROMANIA LIBERA to push for such a separation. I saw that as my duty but at the insistence of the Executive Bureau—which had to rule on my resignation—I promised to stay until the elections. I made my contribution to the Front's electoral campaign. It is true that people had trouble understanding me because in our country it is rare for someone to give up power and its privileges. I thought I could be of far more use in education or as a columnist while preserving the freedom to voice my opinion on various actions and events. After the elections I saw that the results placed the entire responsibility squarely on the NSF. I made it clear that the Front was neither prepared nor equipped for such a role, and that we needed to convene a congress to clarify three main issues: the Front's ideology, its democratic structure, and its leadership. Unfortunately, my proposal was not given serious consideration. All that the Front is doing at present is doling out positions as prefects, mayors, and so forth. There are no program debates inside the Front and everything is reduced to preserving and consolidating power. I do not think that a healthy

political body can survive if it is exclusively concerned with staying in power and consolidating its power.

[Valureanu] This is a rather uncomfortable question for an NSF member: The opposition parties are constantly being criticized. Is there really nothing good about them and their actions?

[Brucan] There are in those parties a number of people with a talent for politics. The parties have been able to analyze the strategic and tactical mistakes they made before the elections and learn from them. I said quite a while ago—and I was criticized for it by the Front—that democracy requires a strong opposition. I said that because a democracy cannot work well without a powerful opposition! This is precisely the problem we now have in Romania, the fact that the Front won such a big victory in the elections, that there is no strong opposition. For this reason, I can see all the pressure groups—like the Group for Social Dialogue, the Society of Tomorrow, the trade unions, etc., and all the organizations making up the civic society play a very important role, and the more active they are in political life, the more dynamic Romania's political life can be. I think that one of the issues that is important not only for the NSF but also for the NPP [National Peasant Party] and the NLP [National Liberal Party], is to accept and legalize party factions. This can eliminate the discord that has appeared in all three of them. When I was in Japan I had talks with former Prime Ministers Nakasone and Takeo Ikeda which gave me an opportunity to realize how dynamic the Liberal Democratic Party is and how the existence of factions permits the assertion of a large number of political leaders.

[Valureanu] Among your highly disputed statements are the ones that appeared in an article carried by THE INDEPENDENT and the ones concerning some of the president's aides. Is there anything you wish to add to that?

[Brucan] I think I explained the interview in the letter carried by ROMANIA LIBERA....

[Valureanu] Speaking of that interview, a few days ago DREPTATEA carried an article asking your forgiveness...

[Brucan] Many of those who cursed me when I said that we will need 20 years to learn democracy now say I was right. Even opposition leaders have told me that. At the time your paper tore me to pieces.... I think that any citizen who makes a study of these things should say what he thinks even when what he has to say sounds unpopular, unpatriotic, or whatever else. If he is convinced of his views and has the necessary experience, he should stand up against opposed currents.

[Valureanu] I thought, as did many others, that at some point there would be discussions on our future path—socialism? capitalism?—but I see that the question has actually not arisen. Capitalism is not even mentioned anymore. It is being said that we should pursue privatization, but not hastily; newspaper articles show that in point of fact privatization is advancing at a snail's pace and that private business is not making much progress either.

[Brucan] I think that the Front should adopt a social-democratic-type ideology....

[Valureanu] In a capitalist state?

[Brucan] No. I don't think that we are capable of having a capitalist state. Nor is that absolutely necessary. What social-democracy has achieved in many countries is quite satisfactory. Sweden is a luxury model but I was referring rather to Austria. We can do the same with respect to privatization, joint ventures with Western companies, and investments. Jumping from one extreme to another or looking upon the capitalist society uncritically is not very wise. Capitalism presents great advantages but it has disadvantages, too. If we are in a position to choose, I don't see why we should opt for a society with disadvantages. The social-democratic solution is better, especially because it precludes such differences between rich and poor as there exist in the United States, England, or France. I don't think that having millionaires or people who live on their incomes without having to do anything, is an ideal worth struggling for. I am in favor of a society in which production is regulated by market forces while the state retains control over the distribution of the national revenues.

[Valureanu] I visited the United States, too, but what I saw there is not quite like you describe it....

[Brucan] Because you haven't seen enough. If you had gone to the slums of New York or Washington you would have seen what I was talking about. Can you deny the existence of large discrepancies or the fact that there are billionaires and then there are homeless people.

[Valureanu] What I saw was a very mobile and dynamic society in which people are forced to work efficiently, and despite the differences you mentioned, there is very wide-spread prosperity.

[Brucan] In Sweden, too, people work very hard, not like in our country.

[Valureanu] But there are big differences there, too....

[Brucan] But there is no poverty. While in the United States, 40 million people live below the poverty line.

[Valureanu] On the other hand, 200 million live at a high level.

[Brucan] But what if you're one of the poor? I am in favor of a social-democratic-type formula.

[Valureanu] What was your best day after the Revolution? What was your worst day?

[Brucan] The best... The day on which the idea of separating the power from the Front as a political party

was accepted and when my proposal to invite UN observers to the elections—an idea for which I had to struggle a lot—was accepted. My worst day was in Tokyo, watching the June events in Bucharest on television. That's when I realized the effects that the events will have on the world. My fears have come true, the public opinion consequences have been extraordinarily bad, even in Moscow, where many officials I met deplored what had happened in Bucharest. This 'unanimity' that the Romanian Government has managed to rally in the world is a real 'record'....

* Government Criticized for Treatment of Gypsies

90BA0278A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian10 Aug 90 p 3

[Emil Munteanu article: "What Do the Gypsies Want?"]

[Text] Well, first and foremost, the Gypsies want to be Gypsies. In other words, people. And to be treated as such. What has the government done for them? Who dealt or is now dealng with their condition? What do the old among them live on, since a social security pension is not in the cards for them? And what about the young ones? All we know about Gypsies is that they go to jail, they steal, they are violent, they rob, and they kill. That's right. Except that if we looked at some statistics we would come to a sad conclusion—namely, that there are a lot more people with the same "select qualities" among the rest of us.

Thus, as a minority, Gypsies are guilty by definition. Many of them are illiterate. When it came to penal inquiries, the militia did not shy away from putting together unassailable files containing "clear" confessions, on which the defendant just put his thumb mark. It was only in court that he found out what terrible sins he was said to have committed, all of which he had admitted without batting an eyelid! Too late. The Gypsy was inevitably sentenced and imprisoned. After which any rehabilitation was impossible. No one needs Gypsies, because they are lazy and they steal. Out in the street with them. To jail, then out to steal again. A real revolving door, which worked, and which suited us just fine. In Tirgu Mures almost the entire population of the city was in the street. The first (and most numerous) to be picked up, however, were the Gypsies. The same in Harghita. And if I remember correctly, that was not a matter of stealing...

Then came the miners. Our darling miners. The men of the depths thought deeply (what else?) and went out to look for Gypsies. There was no mercy for the ones they caught. This time there was no discrimination. They beat them up as "thoroughly" as they did the students, those who allegedly invaded the university. And the Gypsies not present at the roll call were "visited" at home. The addresses were known; they must have been in correspondence! No one was passed over. Because in the Jiu Valley, too, people want to wear blue jeans. You turned on the television and the picture went dark. The camera stayed glued on the Gypsies. As a rule, they don't have a name, only a color. They are at customs. Under arrest. Or at home, next to the goods brought over from the other side. Looks like they are the only ones who travel. They are responsible for all the evils. Which makes everything much more comfortable...

If we wanted to go back to history for a moment, we would remember that, at least since Cuza to the present, they were the ones blessed with slavery, too. They were fated to be born and to live in humiliation. They were not wanted as an integral part of the society. And if we were to stay with history for another moment, we would come to the conclusion that Antonescu did not have the most brilliant idea when it came to the Gypsies; as it turned out, taking them into the society was much more beneficial and necessary than exterminating them. Trivialization, humiliation, and harmful presumption of guilt according only to skin color cannot do any good, it can only make them worse. That way we only conserve them in their own juice, in their own habits...

Then came the Revolution. No one was willing to admit (at least I haven't read anywhere) that Gypsies were among the front ranks facing the cordon of guns. Gypsies of all ages. They did not make it to the TV screen. Only the better classes made it inside the former RCP Central Committee building! The Gypsies stayed in the street, as usual. They didn't dare go any farther. They didn't ask for seats in parliament. Or in the Senate. Or in the government. They went back to their daily business... The Gypsies are passing by... And leaving traces in their wake: 2,833 serious offenses since the beginning of the year. Violence, rape, beating to death, muggings, killings. There are detailed and complete statistics. I also read that large quantities of lead, copper, and rare metals have been extracted from electronic equipment. That is true. But I believe that the Gypsies came into the possession of those metals thanks to the complicity of some plant employees. The comraderie of money! That's more like it!

After all, what do the Gypsies want? They have formed leagues and associations. They have drafted platforms and programs. They have presented requests. What do they want? A decent life. To be a part of the society. To be helped to integrate. To have their churches and their teachers. Who could talk to the little Gypsy who understands almost no Romanian in his first year in school, gets bored, and "devotes" himself to the street. It is in our interest to help this miracle happen. We are not as childish as to think that it can happen overnight, or even in the course of a few years. But a beginning must be made right away. Who will make it?

You will not believe this because it seems so paradoxical. Nevertheless, the first step was made by the most feared enemy of the Gypsies, the police! A few days ago, General Corneliu Diamandescu, chief of the police department and secretary of state at the Interior Ministry, together with high ranking officers from the Police General Inspectorate and representatives of the Gypsies from the entire country spent a few hours together.

Coffee and juices were served; they smoked and talked a lot. Painful things were brought out in the open, to the point, and without beating around the bush. Solutions were sought to end (or at least limit) the incidence of crimes. A consensus was reached. Gypsy representatives will help the police! Probably because they, too, are embarrassed by some of their conationals. And perhaps because they have finally been noticed or because someone has treated them as equals. As humans, in other words.

This is the first ever initiative of its kind. It is a lesson in civic behavior and practical democracy. God knows we've had more than enough demagoguery.

Communique on Evacuation Plans From Iraq, Jordan

AU2208201790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 22 Aug 90

["Communique" issued by the Romanian Government; place and date not given]

[Text] On 22 August, the Romanian Government approached the Iraqi, Jordanian, and Turkish authorities and took measures to ensure the transport to Romania of all Romanian citizens employed in projects in Iraq and Jordan. These people are scheduled to return home in the next few days. Concrete details about their air or road transportation will be communicated directly to each worksite and to each group of Romanian citizens, through the Romanian Embassies in Baghdad and Amman.

Foreign Ministry Deplores Bulgarian Interdictions

AU2208200790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1835 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/8/1990—Romania's Foreign Ministry deplores the restrictive steps taken by the Bulgarian Government on August 17 a temporary ban on private travels of Bulgarian citizens to Romania, a temporary ban on imports of foodstuffs, drinks and other products by private persons through the Romanian-Bulgarian border, a temporary halt to travels through a number of check points.

It was only four days after the adoption of that decision, the communique shows, that the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry announced the Romanian Embassy in Sofia of the restrictive steps taken and in the meantime many Romanian citizens had to cope with unpleasant situations in Bulgaria or when entering the territory of that country.

The Foreign Ministry's communique also shows that like procedure is strange to say the least, as the Bulgarian authorities made decision concerning bilateral Romanian-Bulgarian relations without previously consulting the relevant Romanian authorities, and the Romanian side was officially informed of the decision made by the Bulgarian Government only after it had been made known to public opinion through the mass media in Bulgaria. Furthermore, a true unfriendly campaign in connection with a so-called cholera epidemic in Romania was unleashed in that country, which runs counter to the actual situations. [As] a matter of fact, on August 19 the Health Ministry of Romania informed public opinion of the real situation in the country in connection with several isolated cases in the Danube Delta, with the sick persons now completely out of danger. It was also shown that there were no cholera cases in Danubian localities along the border with Bulgaria, in littoral resorts or among tourists benefiting from services offered by travel agencies. All the cholera cases registered so far are people living and working in the County of Tulcea or people who went to the delta as private tourists and drank water directly from the Danube. Therefore, from this point of view, there is no danger at the Romanian-Bulgarian border and, therefore, there is no justification for the restrictive steps taken by Bulgaria, which run counter to the free movement of individuals.

Romanian citizens wishing to travel to Bulgaria as tourists in the period to come are requested to consider the aforesaid aspects and the situation the Bulgarian side created at the border between the two countries.

Roman Meets With Foreign Businessmen

AU2308094690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0741 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/8/1990—Mr. Petre Roman, Romania's prime minister, met with a group of West European politicians and businessmen: Jean-Paul Carteron, chairman of the council of the "Forum" foundation Vaduz, Liechtenstein Principality, Prince Anton, that foundation's president of honour, Jean-Marc Betrand, director-general of "Cegos" France, Georges Huber, president of the "Salman Trust" Liechtenstein, Cornelius Caluori, the Italian Company "Benetton" representative for Switzerland.

Opinions were exchanged concerning the collaboration between Romanian companies and the "Forum" foundation. The guests expressed their interest for privatization, especially in the banking and financial field, as well as for Romania's acceptance of foreign capital. In that framework the garments company "Benetton" expressed its wish to open through its representative such works in Romania.

During their Romania visit the group of West European politicians and businessmen had interviews with Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state, in charge with economic orientation, Vasile Voloseniuc, president of the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade, Constantin Fota, minister of commerce and tourism, Petru Rares, [word indistinct] vice-president. During those interviews interest was expressed for investments from foreign countries.

Roman Discusses Cooperation With FRG Official

AU2208160190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1421 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/8/1990—Petre Roman, Romanian prime minister, received Juergen Echternach, secretary of state with the Federal Ministry of Systematization, Building and Urbanism of the Federal Republic of Germany, now visiting Romania as guest of his Romanian counterpart.

Petre Roman reiterated on the occasion the Romanian Government's wish to expand the collaboration with the Federal Republic of Germany so as to take advantage of its experience in various domains.

They recalled the fact that the two parties had signed these last few months accords of collaboration in building and physical planning.

New lines of bilateral collaboration were established during the interview.

Roman Receives British MP Lucia Amery

AU2208151490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1423 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/8/1990—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman received on August 22 British Member of Parliament Lucia Amery [name as received] who is on a private visit in Romania.

They extensively reviewed the changes in Romania in the last period politically, economically and culturally, as well as the government's actions for economic recovery, for a passage to the market economy. They discussed also matters of political, economic, and cultural collaboration between Romania and Great Britain.

Deputy Secretary Discusses Iraqi Evacuation

LD2208135190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—Our workers in Iraq will certainly receive exit visas, Bozo Jovanovic, deputy federal secretary for economic relations with foreign countries, told reporters at a news conference today.

The Federal Executive Council has undertaken measures to secure the safe return of our nationals. They will leave Iraq through Jordan and Turkey as part of an established evacuation plan which gives priority to children, women, and ill people.

The federal government will make advance payments to transport companies involved in the evacuation to ensure a sufficient number of transport vehicles are available. The final account, that is, who will foot the bill, will be made after our nationals are evacuated.

A total of 7,500 Yugoslav workers are gradually winding down operations in Iraq. If the situation does not improve, the lack of imported materials will bring them to a halt. There are no food shortages yet in camps where our workers live. If shortages occur, our nationals will be evacuated. Efforts are being made to transfer workers and machines from Iraqi building sites to other sites.

The Gulf crisis brought about higher prices of crude oil. A barrel of oil currently costs $29 on the cash market, which will inevitably result in higher prices at gas pumps in Yugoslavia. This, however, should not have serious consequences for economic reform. Out of the projected import of 3.2 million tonnes of oil from Iraq this year, 41 percent has already been received. If the situation does not change, crude oil will be bought on the cash market. Current estimates indicate this would cost $200-$300 million. [passage omitted]

Iraq Expected To Request Debt Rescheduling

LD2208180290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1525 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—Iraq will most probably ask for another reprogramming of a 242 million dollar debt to Yugoslavia which falls due late this year, Yugoslavia's Deputy Foreign Trade Secretary Bozo Jovanovic told today's press conference.

Iraq's total debt to Yugoslavia over the past four years, including this year's dues, stands at 955 million dollars. Iraq will most probably request a reprogramming of the debt that falls due in 1991.

For facilities constructed by late 1990, Iraq was to have paid Yugoslavia 225 million dollars and another 700 million in the next four years. But the situation is not improving because of the blockade of Iraqi goods and there will be payments problems, Jovanovic said.

Yugoslavia is to hand the U.N. a precise estimate of the economic damages the Gulf crisis inflicted or will inflict on its national economy by the end of the month, Jovanovic said. He added that the federal government will examine the report in detail including experts' reports on protecting Yugoslavia's interests from a legal and financial aspect.

The international boycott will force Yugoslavia to buy additional crude oil on the free market with estimates valuing the purchases at between 200 and 300 million dollars.

Jovanovic said there was no danger that the 7,500 Yugoslav workers in Iraq would have their visas revoked.

Aftermath of Referendum-Related Unrest in Croatia

Knin Roadblocks Removed

AU2208155290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Sezana Samardzic report from Knin]

[Text] The situation is returning to normal. We were able to ascertain this last night on the road from Knin toward Bosansko Grahovo. Barricades have been completely removed on this road, although a night sentry stopped us at Strmica, a local community. We have also learned that barricades have been removed from the road between the village of Djevrske toward Benkovac, and that the same will be done on other roads toward and around Knin in the course of the day today.

It is extremely important news that the INA refinery has resumed regular supplies of oil products to Knin, and that 29,000 liters of fuel have arrived in Knin.

Regarding the referendum on the autonomy of the Serbian people in Croatia, it is the fourth day of the referendum today. We have reports that some polling stations have been closed because 100 percent of the citizens have voted, but nevertheless citizens will be able to cast their vote on the autonomy of the Serbs in Croatia until 2 September.

In addition to northern Dalmatian and Lika communes, polling is taking place without any problems in other places of the Republic of Croatia, or rather in Rijeka, Pula, Zadar, Sibenik, and some other places. According to a report we received from the members of the central commission for the referendum, some 300,000 ballot papers were sent to Belgrade yesterday.

Presidency: Threat From 'Outside Croatia'

LD2208185490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 22 Aug (TANJUG) - At today's session, chaired by President Franjo Tudjman, the Presidency of

the Croat Republic considered the political situation in the republic. It was concluded that, despite all difficulties, the new democratic Croatia did not succumb to organized unrest aimed at obstructing democratic changes in the country, but acted resolutely in accordance with the principles of a law-governed state, peace and democracy.

The Presidency, as cited in the statement from the session, holds that large numbers of citizens who showed a high degree of democratic consciousness assisted the process of overcoming the crisis imposed from outside Croatia. These citizens, despite all provocations made by pro-Chetnik elements and the spreading of fear and half-truths, maintained their levelheadedness.

The Presidency thanks numerous parties, party organizations, and rallies organized by citizens living in the country and abroad for their support. At the same time, the Presidency asks parties and individuals not to indulge extremists' demands and actions which could obstruct the further normalization of life and put into jeopardy the peaceful progress of democracy.

The statement further says that Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman briefed the Presidency on his talks with the SFRY Presidency, which took place in Belgrade yesterday.

In this regard, the Presidency welcomed with pleasure a statement that the Yugoslav People's Army neither has nor will participate in actions directed against the democratic government.

They also welcomed measures which the Army is taking by calling to account certain members of the Armed Forces, who arbitrarily took part in the unrest.

The Presidency has appointed a special commission to examine the case of interception of Ministry of Internal Affairs helicopters by the Air Force. The members of the commission are: Dr. Hrvoje Kacic, an Assembly deputy; Ivan Matija, also an Assembly deputy; Captain Juraj Salaj, a private pilot; Dr. Sinisa Triva, a university professor; and Milan Vukovic, a lawyer. The commission is to establish the facts as quickly as possible.

The Presidency and the government of the Republic of Croatia will further endeavor to secure lawfulness and peace for all citizens in the Croat Republic and concludes the statement from the session of the Croatian Presidency held today.

Raskovic Threatens 'Great March'

AU2208195290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Milos Rajkovic report from Knin]

[Text] The day has been passing quietly in the entire Knin region and in the neighboring north Dalmatian and Lika communes, where the Serbs are the majority, but the tension caused by the events of the past days has not abated. People in Knin were particularly alarmed by something that happened the night before last, which journalists were told about at the news conference this afternoon.

Yesterday before dawn, Ante Bujas, secretary of the Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Sibenik, called together 70 militiamen and reservists at the Drnis Militia Station and explained to them his plan of an attack on Knin. He particularly stressed that the Serbian civilian sentries that guard the roads in the region at night are simple bandits and that they, we quote, should not be spared.

However, all the militiamen and reservists present, both Serbs and Croats, refused to obey the order to attack Knin and threw down their arms. The special units of the Croatian Constabulary [Hrvatsko Redarstvo] stationed in Drnis and in the village of Vrlika, on the border between the Knin and Drnis communes, have not taken any action.

In Sibenik today, citizens continued to sign a petition requesting that Jovan Raskovic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, should be deported from the town. Several thousand people have already signed the petition, which is perhaps supposed to reflect the democratic and European spirit of the Croatian people in the area.

However, Jovan Raskovic, who has been subjected to a veritable barrage of attacks and insults in the Zagreb media, does not desist from his political mission. For our listeners, we have selected the following from an extensive interview he held with Radio Belgrade and Radio Novi Sad today:

[Begin Raskovic recording] If anything occurs after these events, it will be a silent resistance by the Serbian people. I am entertaining the thought of a great march of Serbs to Zagreb, of the Gandhi type, without weapons, without anything, quietly, without slogans and without flags. If the Croatian Assembly continues to be against the Serbs, if it begins to express Serbophobe positions, I will call the Serbian people from all parts of the world... [corrects himself] from all parts of Croatia—Croatia, only Croatia, I will not even call on the Serbs from Bosnia, although my influence in Bosnia, not to be immodest, is very stable and quite good, and I could call on the Bosnians, too, but I do not want to—I will call the Serbs from Croatia to this great march.

We will gather in certain places and walk. We will walk a part of the way, perhaps even 100 kilometers. We will walk through Serbian villages and will gather more people and Serbs. We will gather the Serbs and will march to the Croatian Assembly or Jelacic Square to make our protest known.

In the future, I believe, we will only use such conduct; such Gandhi-like conduct. We will not reply with weapons against weapons, even if they shoot at us. [end recording]

As I said at the beginning of this report, it is quiet in Knin and other places in this region. This is most important. The town is well supplied, and tankers arrived this morning bringing fuel that has not been available at the pumps here for the past several days.

Communists Call for Peaceful Solution

LD2208185190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1718 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia - Party of Democratic Changes (PDC) [SDP] today issued conclusions from yesterday's session, calling on all its members and supporters to contribute to overcoming the present crisis situation in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, together with other democratically oriented parties.

The leadership of Croatian Communist reformers assessed the events in the Republic connected with the referendum on Serb autonomy in Croatia as "part of a scenario aimed at halting the democratic processes by force, destabilizing and toppling democratic forces and returning to the old system."

The LCC-PDC proposed that the republican Assembly, at its special session on August 24, adopt by consensus stands and measures to defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Croatia, preserve democracy and peacefully solve the crisis situation.

The conclusions point out the necessity of adopting a political statement on the national rights of Serbs in Croatia at the same republican Assembly session, and asking the Assembly of Yugoslavia to introduce a declaration on inter-nationality relations as a precondition for a new Yugoslav constitution and a new historical agreement among Yugoslav nations on the future Yugoslavia.

Despite the differences between the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) [HDZ] and the Serb Democratic Party (SDP) [SDS], as the strongest opposition party, it is necessary to reach accord on the fundamental questions of Croatia's sovereignty and promotion of democracy, the conclusions stressed.

The LCC-PDC assessed the policies of the SDP leadership as "adventurist" and stressed that the party underestimated and denied the Croatian Assembly and created an atmosphere of fear and endangerment of Serbs in Croatia.

DELO: Events 'Cooked Up by Serbia'

AU2208192490 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Aug 90 p 1

[Janko Lorenci commentary: "Shock Therapy"]

[Text] The overall view of Yugoslavia since the Knin events is slightly horrible. The unique referendum of the allegedly endangered Serbs has begun despite everything, and a part of Croatia is beyond any control by the republican authorities—it is ruled by groups of armed people who have assumed power. The Croatian Republic has been partially abolished.

It is completely clear that everything has been cooked up by Serbia, which has used its old strategy of the physical presence of its stirred-up and belligerent people who live in other territories. However, what are the federal authorities doing about the exported "revolution" and about the obvious destabilization of one of the republics?

The head of the state Presidency, Jovic, expresses his understanding for the referendum. The vice president of the federal government, Mitrovic, offers the Croats a Trojan horse—a federal police unit. Markovic is nowhere. And the Army launches MiG planes in order to frighten the Croats.

Do the federal authorities care about the flight of foreign tourists and about the damage to Yugoslavia's political and economic image abroad? No, but with the remainder of their authority (the Army!) they defend the creation of a completely untenable autonomy (and a real secession at the moment), at a time when the autonomy of the two provinces guaranteed by the Constitution is crudely and violently abolished through state coercion. With Knin, it has become crystal clear, more than ever before, that the federal authorities belong to Serbia. The masks—if anybody was still deceived by them—have finally been removed.

What is to be done in this crisis of calculated Serbian adventurism and federal hypocrisy which even actively helps that adventurism? One is urgently aware of at least three lines of thinking and, equally important, of immediate activity: the close and manifest alliance of all who are threatened (particularly Croatia and Slovenia), an accelerated internal defense mobilization, and the abandonment of the last false illusions of Yugoslavia. Knin can serve as shock therapy, as well.

Kosovars Sign Up To Go To Croatia

AU2208141790 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Aug 90 p 4

[Nadira Vlasi report: "A Deja-Vu Scenario"]

[Text] Pristina—Kosovo Polje is boiling and volunteers are signing up. Bogdan Kecman, leader of "Bozur," announced on Pristina Television that the 60,000 members of this group were prepared to kill for the rights of their oppressed brothers in Croatia.

Albanians calmly watch them arming themselves from a distance.

One can most often hear that everything that is now happening concerning Knin is a copy of the greater Serbia policy that has been applied in Kosovo and towards the Albanians in recent years. The scenario is the same or perhaps only slightly modified. The Croats are being called Ustasha and all-Albanian separatists and nationalists.

Comments have been made here that it used to be said that Serbs only want a unified Serbian state and that they will not undermine the autonomy of the provinces. It is now becoming obvious that the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina are being scrapped, and in Croatia they have allegedly only been raising the question of cultural autonomy. If they succeed, they will have even greater demands in the next stage which will lead to the creation of a greater Serbia.

It has been learned that 15,000 volunteers have so far signed up in Kosovo to go to Croatia. But what do the more prominent people in Kosovo say?

The Army and Milosevic's Project

Shkelzen Maliqi, president of the Social-Democratic Party of Kosovo [Socialdemokratska Stranka Kosova]: All this reminds one of the Kosovo of a few years ago and I hope that the Croats have learned a few lessons from that. The events serve to save Milosevic's regime and promote the redesigning of Yugoslavia according to the Memorandum. The involvement of the Army shows that some influential Army circles are nevertheless behind Milosevic's project. All this will have serious implications for Yugoslavia.

Hivzi Islami, president of the Kosovo Peasants Party [Seljacka Stranka Kosova]; What is now happening in Croatia has been happening in Kosovo for a full 10 years. The scenario is the same—the creation of a Serbian Yugoslavia. If the leaders of Croatia and other republics at that time had had a just and principled stand toward Kosovo, the present Serbian war-mongering leadership would not have been encouraged to subjugate and humiliate all the other peoples in Yugoslavia. However, I believe that the present brave leadership of the Republic of Croatia, which is resolutely with the people will not allow the democratic authorities to be brought down and a greater Serbia to be created. I am not sufficiently informed about events because of the blockade on the Albanian-language media.

Arms 'Inventory' Announced

AU2208165890 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 90 p 5

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "An Inventory of Arms To Be Taken in Croatia"]

[Text] Zagreb, 15 Aug—Josip Boljkovac, minister of internal affairs of Croatia, has announced that an inventory of arms in the possession of citizens is to be taken in Croatia. Anyone who presents and registers their weapons will receive a permit, but legal action will be taken against those who conceal them and keep them illegally, the republican minister announced last night on a television broadcast.

Josip Boljkovac said that because of the stipulation regarding "political suitability," permits for holding weapons used to mainly a privilege for the Serbian population of Croatia and not for Croats. The minister announced that this provision will be discarded as a condition for receiving permits and that everyone will be equal before the law.

Croat, Slovene Party Leaders Meet

LD2208181890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1621 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Zagreb, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—Developments in the Knin region and the entire Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, concerning the referendum on the cultural autonomy of Serbs, contain elements threatening the new democratic authorities in Croatia, but the problems facing Serbs in Croatia should not be denied.

This was a conclusion of today's talks between the leaderships of the League of Communists of Croatia - Party of Democratic Changes and the League of Communists of Slovenia - Democratic Reform Party, headed by Ivica Racan (Croatia) and Ciril Ribicic (Slovenia).

The talks, held as part of a regular exchange of views between the two parties, included the question of maturity and ability of Yugoslav opposition parties to take part in current developments and changes in the country.

Both Racan and Ribicic pointed to the necessity of forming a "Shadow government", which would take a critical (?stand) towards the official authorities, but also staunch initiatives and proposals for resolving development problems.

Ribicic also underlined the need to reject theories which claim that the special rights of national minorities should be ignored because the political freedoms of all citizens, regardless of their nationality, are being broadened.

Ribicic and Racan believe that the Yugoslav Assembly should open a debate on inter-nationality relations in Yugoslavia.

Slovenians Discuss 'Grave Employment Problems'

AU2208162090 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 13 Aug 90 p 1

[Slavko Dokl report: "Slovene Farming at a Crossroads"]

[Text] Semic, 12 Aug—You cannot improve and change everything overnight, but farmers nevertheless expect quicker, gradual, yet effective changes, it was stated at a roundtable conference during the three-day Slovene Peasants Rally in Semic, organized by the Crnomelj branch of the Slovene Peasant Alliance.

The second Peasant Rally which opened with a roundtable conference on farming and forestry and continued with a discussion on viticulture and wine making was concluded with a mass rally of peasants under the 700-year-old linden tree at Gorenjci near Semic, where they were addressed by Ivan Oman and Dusan Plut, members of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia.

In an animated and lively debate, most attention was devoted to the crossroads of Slovene farming, or rather to the difficult social position of the peasant man and the peasant woman—which was pointed out particularly by Marija Markes, deputy minister of farming, forestry, and food—and other current problems. They particularly pointed out that on the basis of the Slovene national farming program, one should produce sufficient quantities of food at home as soon as possible.

Ivan Oman, president of the Slovene Peasant Alliance, spoke about the implementation of the election program of one of the most numerous political parties in Slovenia. He said among other things: "We are indeed at a crossroads; not only in farming, but the entire Slovene people are at a crossroads. Now is the time of fateful decisions. It is a time when we must eliminate neofeudalism, a time when it is necessary to implement the program and the demands of the May Declaration. It is a time when it is necessary to set the foundations of a modern Slovene state and a true sovereignty of the people, a time when it is necessary to rescue the ruined national economy, the threatening unemployment, and social problems."

Dusan Plut remarked: "The Demos [Democratic Opposition of Slovenia] government will not be liked. It must rescue the bankrupt economy, solve the extremely grave employment problems, and the serious problems in farming and social services. It must resort to measures that we do not like, and therefore it cannot be a popular government. However, this does not absolve it from doing its best so as to eliminate the critical situation as soon as possible."

Albanians in Kosovo To Begin General Strike 3 Sep

LD2208135290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—During his press conference today Hajrulah Gorani, president of the Union of Independent Kosovo Trade Unions, whose members are all Albanians, announced the decision of the coordination committee of this trade whereby on 3 September all Albanians employed in Kosovo will begin a general strike.

This "protest strike," as they called it, will last between 24 hours and a week, depending "on the further development of the situation." If "in the meantime repressive measures against the workers who are Albanian nationals continue," Gorani said, the strike will last indifinitely. "The rules" with which the people taking part in the strike have to comply will be set out by the coordination committee and will be "forwarded to the membership of the Independent Kosovo Trade Unions in good time." [passage omitted]

Asked by journalists why a date has been chosen for the start of the strike which is identical with the day school begins in Kosovo, Gorani replied that this is "purely coincidental." Moreover, he said, the school year is due to begin on 1 September.

Kreka Coal Miners Strike Over; Raises Promised

LD2208161890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Summary] Tuzla, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—All miners on the first shift at the Kreka colliery resumed the normal work schedule today. Others will follow. This signals the end of the Kreka miners' strike which began on 6 August. It was decided that until the new rules have been adopted the earnings of the workers with the lowest wages should increase by 100 percent and the wages of all other workers by 40 percent.

United Serbian Opposition Urges Electoral Changes

LD2208173690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1542 GMT 22 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—The united Serbian opposition today issued a demand to the president of the republican Assembly and the republican Presidency to secure the equality of all parties which will run in the elections in Serbia's electoral laws.

Among other things, the opposition demands that the election campaign be extended to at least three months, that each party be given at least two hours of television time to promote its program, and that the constituencies be multi-party in composition.

Representatives of six opposition parties—the Democratic Party, the People's Radical Party, the Liberal Party, the Serbian St. Sava Party, the Democratic Forum and the Serbian Renewal Movement—have set a five-day limit.

If they are not received at the republican Assembly by then, they will hold demonstrations on September 4.

If the legislators ignore their demands, the opposition parties have announced a boycott of the forthcoming multi-party elections in Serbia.

Opposition Parties Legally Registered in Serbia

LD2308124490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—Serbian Secretary for Justice Sreten Vladisavljevic today approved the registration of 15 parties active in the republic. The decision will be delivered to party leaders on Monday, 27 August in the Serbian Executive Council. On that day, Serbia will formally become a multiparty state.

By decision of the Republican Secretariat for Justice, the following parties have been granted the right to operate legally: the Serbian Socialist Party [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije]; the People's Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna

Stranka]; the Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka]; the Party of Private Businessmen and Farmers [Stranka Samostalnih Privrednika and Seljaka]; the Serbian St. Sava Party [Srpska Svetosavska Stranka]; the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove]; the Serbian National Renaissance [Srpska Narodna Obnova]; the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [Demokratska Zajednica Vojvodjanskih Madjara]; the New Communist Movement [Novi Kommunisticki Pokret]; the Social-Democratic Alliance of Serbian Youth-New Democracy [Socijal-Demokratski Savez Mladih Srbije-Nova Demokratija]; the Yugoslav Workers' Party [Radnicka Partija Jugoslavije]; the World-Wide Alliance of Serbs [Savez Svih Srba Sveta]; the Democratic Forum [Demokratski Forum]; the Novi Pazar based Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije]; and the Yugoslav Movement for the Protection of Human Rights-Yugoslav Party for Human Rights [Pokret Za Zastitu Ljudskih Prava Jugoslavije-Stranka Za Ljudska Prava Jugoslavije].

The only party not registred is the Seriban Chetnik Movement [Srpski Cetnicki Pokret].

We have learned today from official sources in the Republican Secretariat for Justice that the applications for registration made by the following six parties are still being considered: the Novi Sad based People's Party [Narodna Stranka is Novog Sada]; the Prokuplje based Yugo-National Party [Jugo-Nacionalna Stranka iz Prokuplja]; the Belgrade based Yugoslav Democratic Christian Party [Jugoslovenska Demokratska-Hriscanska Stranka iz Beograda]; the Kragujevac based Romani Democratic Political Party [Demokratska Politicka Partije Roma]; the United Serbian Democratic Movement [Ujedinjeni Sropski Demokratski Pokret]; and the Valjevo based Liberal Party [Liberalna Stranka iz Valjeva].

* Albanian Catholic Bishop on Ethnic Problems

* Albanian Catholics' Actions

90P20100A Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 5 Aug 90 p 5

[Interview with Nike Prela, bishop of Skopje-Prizren, by Zenun Celaj; place and date not given; first three paragraphs are RILINDJA introduction]

[Excerpts] We do not know if Bishop Nike Prela, bishop of the Skopje-Prizren Albanian Catholic Church, likes it when we call him old. But his age is impressive and symbolic. [passage omitted] He is 72 years old, almost three-quarters of a century. In his house in the courtyard of the Catholic Church in Prizren, where he has been living for 20 years, he receives people who beseech him to spend some time in conversation with them and also troubled people, of whom there have been many in recent years, always following national traditions.

"This door is open to everyone. They are welcome!" he [Strela] says, like a tough mountaineer.

Bishop Prela is from Shkoder, from Kotorr. He arrived in Kosovo in 1970. [passage omitted] The acceptance of the Albanian Catholic Church in the spiritual and cultural life of Kosovo was more accentuated after his arrival. New religious centers were opened for Albanian Catholics , who, up to that time, had non-Albanian priests, and also an extensive publishing activity was begun. [passage omitted] New parishes were opened in Kline, Budisalc, Gllavicice, Dublibare, Vernakolle, and some churches and chapels have been constructed and reconstructed.

[Prela] We are especially proud of the large number of nuns, headed by Mother Teresa, who is known all over the world.

What Albanian is not proud of Mother Teresa, our Nobel Prize winner, who gives new meaning to humanity, raising it to a more human level? Now there are Albanian Mother Teresas in all parishes, in all hospitals and nursing homes in the country, and outside the country. There are more than 300. Let us remember their involvement in taking care of the persons poisoned during the spring of this year in Ferizaj and in Bince.

[Celaj] Is it true that with your arrival that our Albanian church has not been just a place of worship?

[Prela] I learned Albanian in the family, from my parents. I learned Albanian history and culture later. Kadare impressed me. [passage omitted]

[Celaj] How many people does this diocese serve?

[Prela] Our diocese serves some 75,000 Catholics, including 65,000 Albanians. However, in its activity, it also serves other Albanians. For example, young and old Albanians, regardless of religion, read and collaborate on the publication DRITA. [Passage omitted]

The Albanian Catholic Church immediately embraced and began to use the unified Albanian literary language, not only in its publications but also in its sermons and its communications with the faithful. The Holy See expressed its approval of this step and even ordered that the unified language be used everywhere and in every circumstance.

Language is a national characteristic. On issues of national identity Albanians have always risen above religious differences and these differences have never been a cause of conflict within the nation.

[Celaj] And what is the role of the church today?

[Prela] All religions preach love as a weapon against enemies. Good eradicates evil. This is not only a strategy but the essence of dedication. [passage omitted] This received another response from the Albanians—opposition through force. Since the Albanians are wise people with a clear view of the future, broad monumental movements are taking the floor, just as in ancient times. They include: the Struggle against Illiteracy, and the "Mother Teresa" Movement. The people are finding

strength in these difficult and turbulent times to proceed into the future with humanism. But this is proof of a high national awareness. While keeping our own character, we are preparing to go forth into Europe.

[Celaj] What is your role in this work?

[Prela] As a bishop for Albanian Catholics, I have addressed many appeals. At Easter I sent an open letter to all Albanian Catholics asking them to give up the practice of blood revenge and to support and aid in the reconciliation with enemies. Last February, during the miners' strike in Stari Trg, we made an appeal that their demands be met and that they be saved. They were not waging an aggressive fight. It was one of self-sacrifice, which is the most democratic form of struggle, without violence, without endangering anyone, except themselves. It was a courageous struggle, an altruistic sacrifice. [passage omitted]

Bishop Nike Prela recalls other appeals which he directed to public opinion calling for constructive involvement in resolving the Kosovo problem. He publicly sent messages of condolences for the persons killed during the demonstrations.

He sent letters to the Pope and Mother Teresa, to the president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Borisav Jovic. [passage omitted]

[Celaj] Did the Vatican and the Pope ever respond?

[Prela] The Holy See expressed its concern twice, in public statements, in regard to what has been happening to Albanians in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. Last year, the Pope greeted 120 Albanian Catholics from all over the world. He told them that he knew about the sufferings of the Albanians and he expressed his condolences for the deaths. [passage omitted] During a general audience last year he invited world public opinion to become interested in Kosovo and called for prayers that the Albanians in Kosovo would enjoy peace and justice. This year the Pope is carrying on an intensive activity through diplomatic channels with the aim of finding a peaceful solution for the Kosovo problem.

[Celaj] You were at the Vatican recently. It was reported that you had high level meetings there, and also with the Italian Government. What did you discuss?

[Prela] At the time of the massive poisonings of Albanian youths in Kosovo and the deaths of an unusually large number of Albanian soldiers, I directed appeals to the appropriate federal and republic organs, and to the Holy See and all European bishops' conferences asking them to express their concern and to take the appropriate measures to prevent the crimes. A few days ago I was at the Vatican with Fr. Lush Gjergji. We had important high level meetings there. Also we had contacts with a representative at the highest level of the Italian Government, who is a leader in the European Community. She expressed interest in the idea of consulting and informing the public of the situation in Kosovo by means of the church, in addition to other channels. We have sent top government officials detailed reports on the situation.

[Celaj] What about the Pope?

[Prela] He has made public statements on several occasions. He told me personally: "I love the Polish people, because I am their son. But I have the Albanian people in my heart." He is informed in detail about our situation.

[Celaj] Is this not political activity?

[Prela] No! It is involvement, by democratic means, against violence. Religion does not prohibit anyone from belonging to a nationality. Among Albanians, nationality has been a platform which has brought together persons of different faiths. As you can see, Albanians have been living with different faiths for several centuries. No one is ever identified on the basis of his faith; neither Catholics as Romans, Orthodox as Byzantines, nor Muslims as Arabs or Turks. Here I am not speaking about special cases. The religions have coexisted or they have changed, but the nationality has not. The best example is the situation of our Arbresh [Albanians] in Italy. After five centuries they have preserved their national identity, language, and customs. Distinctions on the basis of religion have always been imposed by foreign policy, just like the labels: nationalist, irredentist, separatist, terrorist, and fundamentalist. None of these is an Albanian trait.

[Celaj] What do you think about fundamentalism?

[Prela] The Catholic Church considers this label, which is applied to Albanians, inaccurate and opposes it. First we must speak about Serbian fundamentalism.

[Celaj] What is the status of preparations for the celebration of Mother Teresa's 80th birthday?

[Prela] Her health is not too good. We have invited her to celebrate her birthday with us, on the Day for Stopping the Bloodshed, the day celebrating the renunciation of violence. We are making preparations. We trust that she will regain her health. Other important personalities from the Vatican and the world have expressed an interest in coming to this event. Mother Teresa has expressed a desire that all those who have shed their blood be honored with medals or certificates of recognition. [passage omitted]

[Celaj] What is your recommendation for our readers?

[Prela] The Albanian Catholic Church is satisfied, happy and proud in regard to the attitude and prudence of the Albanians during these difficult times. It would be even happier if they would continue to maintain their dignity. This is a mythological, Gandhian attitude. It is better to endure violence than to cause violence!

* Letter to Jovic

90P20100B Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian
5 Aug 90 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Letter to Borisav Jovic"]

[Text] On 16 June, on the outside doors of the Catholic convent of the Sisters of Adoration in Bince, near Viti in Kosovo, some obscene words were written in Cyrillic letters at the prompting of Vuk Dashkovic, and signed with the letter "S," also in Cyrillic.

This incident has angered not only the Catholics of this parish but also citizens who live nearby and those who live far away, who have been coming to the sisters every day to seek health care. These and similar cases, in various forms and places, are creating insecurity and tension in our church members and other people. Unfortunately, up to now the security organs have done nothing to stop, expose, and punish the guilty parties.

The same parish sent an emotional appeal to the Yugoslav bishops' conference in Zagreb at the time of the poisoning of the children and youth, something which, unfortunately, is continuing. On our part, we sent an open appeal to the broad Yugoslav public, calling for justice, truth, and peace in Kosovo. And finally, we are calling upon you, as head of the highest government forum, to defend the peaceful life of our church members, at the request of the priests who are working in these areas.

I hope that this appeal will not pass into oblivion, without having the necessary results. With respect and thanks.

—Nike Prela, auxiliary bishop of the Skopje-Prizren Diocese

for Albanian Catholics

Ferizaj, 17 June 1990